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N A T I O N S
A N D
P E A C E

by

I. A. Richards

Pictures by Ramon Gordon

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I am in debt in all sorts of ways on this book. Among them to:

Cord Meyer, Jr., for starting me on it

Grenville Clark for things to put in, and to other
friends for things to take out

Richardson Wood, who sent me to Irving Geis
about the pictures,

and to Irving Geis and Bruce Gregory for help
in working them out

Ramon Gordon, who did them

a chance meeting which gave me my Publishers

United World Federalists, who will use my profits

C. K. Ogden for the invention of Basic.

But most of all to the English Language for letting
me say all this with so small a part of it.

I.A.R.

A LANGUAGE NOTE

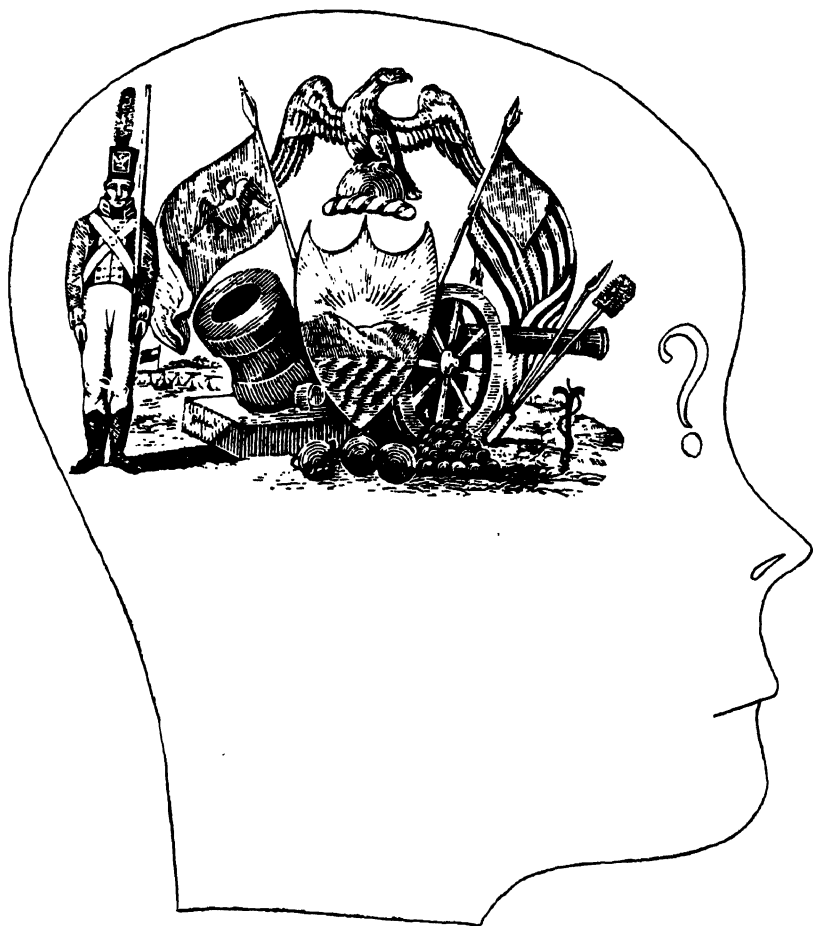
THIS LITTLE BOOK is an example of the free use of Basic English. In addition to about 365 of the words on the Basic List of 850, some 25 other words are at work here. And it does not everywhere keep to the letter of the Basic English rules.

These expansions were not necessary—in the sense that there was no way in Basic of saying what is said here. But they gave, it seemed, a little more force at certain very important points in the argument. It may be doubted if they will make the book harder even to a reader whose knowledge of English is very limited. Moreover, such slow expansions are good for his growth in the language. In any event, levels of English based on and near to Basic will probably take no small part in the general education—as wide as the earth itself—which will be needed as powers to make Law and keep the Peace are given to the United Nations. This book is offered as an example of the use of very simple English in saying important things clearly.

This Note itself is in straight Basic English.

Two questions are more important, today, to everyone, than any others.

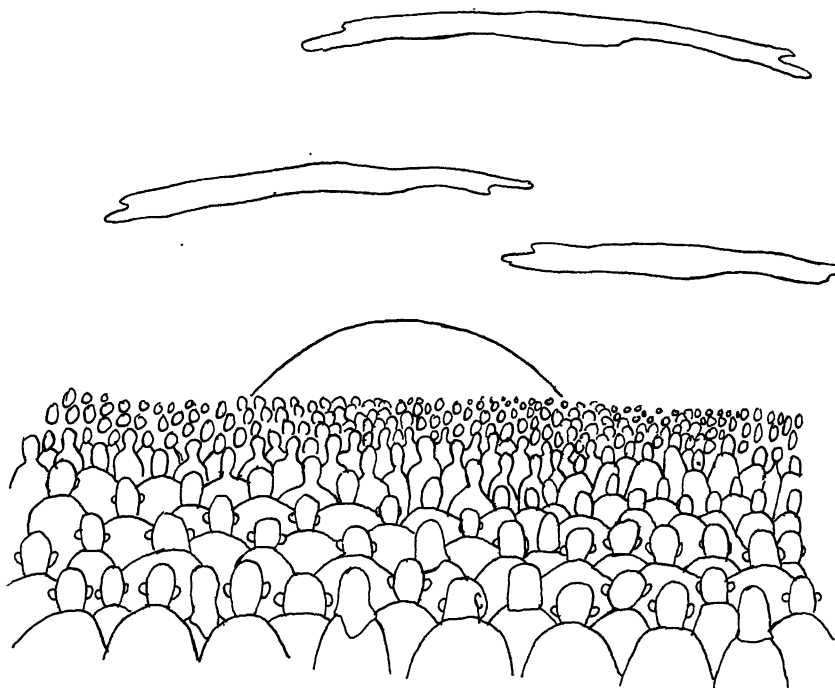
What is a *nation*? What is *peace*?



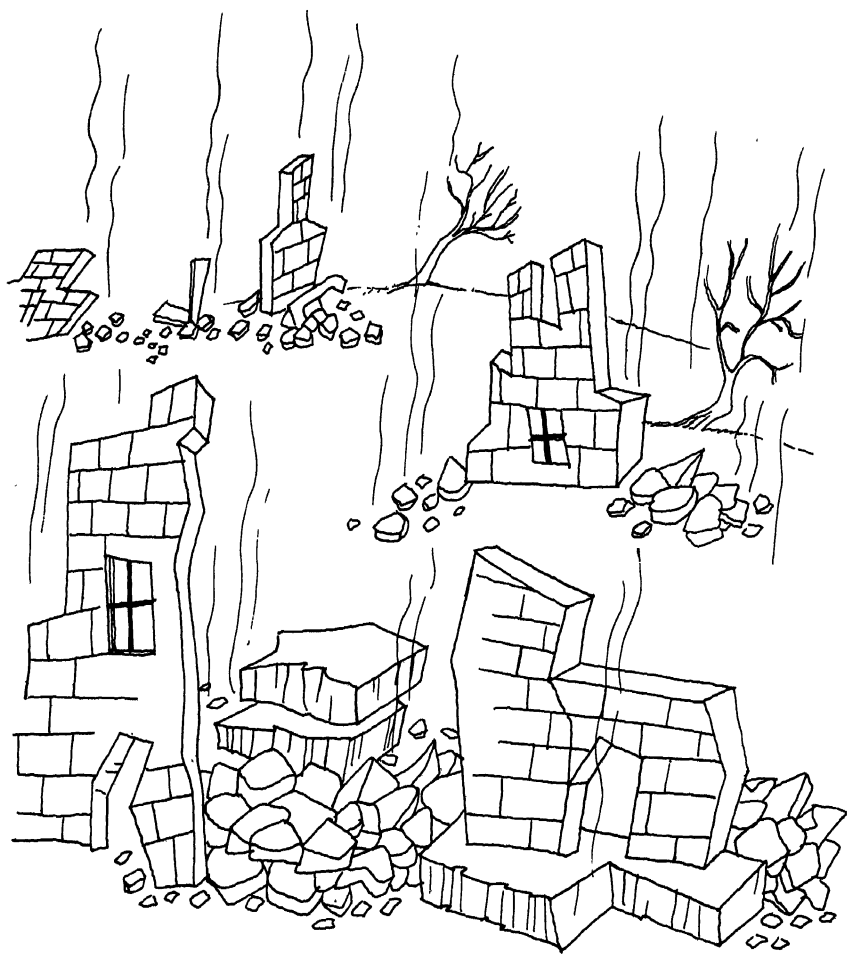
Our everyday ideas of a nation—our nation or any other nation—are not clear enough.

Our ideas of peace are not clear enough.

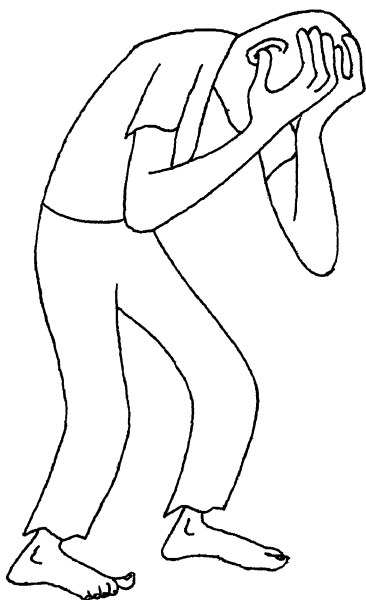
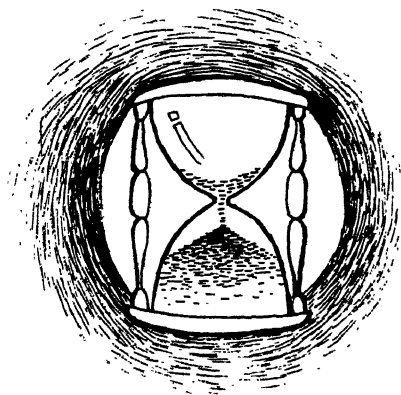
IS MAN'S SUN GOING DOWN OR COMING UP?



The future of every one of us—everywhere in all the lands—is dependent on our having clear enough ideas **NOW** of *nations* and of *peace*.

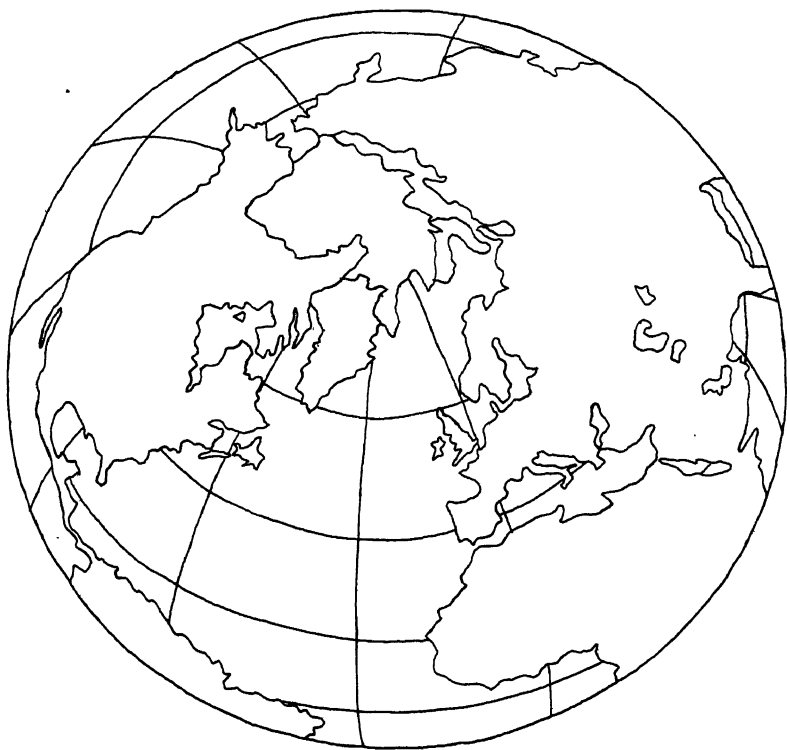


Our unclear ideas will be the death of us—and of our children—if we do not change these ideas quickly enough.



Not far off . . . now . . . is the end of all men's hopes.
Only better ideas will save us. Better ideas . . . quickly
enough.

WHAT IS A NATION?

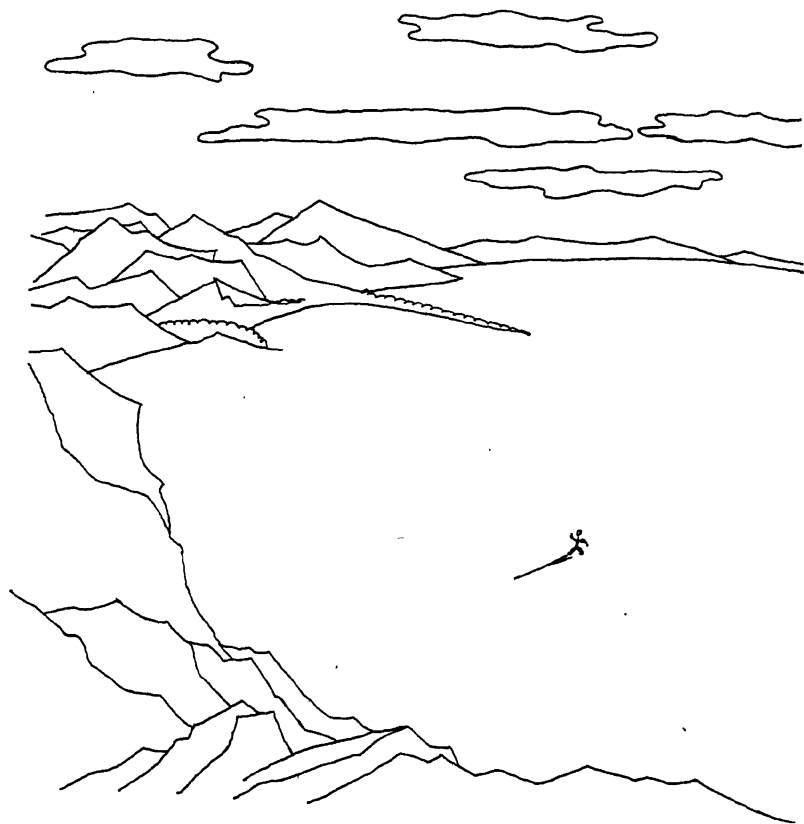


Here is the earth. On it more than 2,200,000,000 men and women and children are living. About 500,000,000 of them are grouped in great nations almost ready now for complete destruction one by another.

WHY?

BECAUSE THEY ARE NATIONS.

HOW DID NATIONS START?



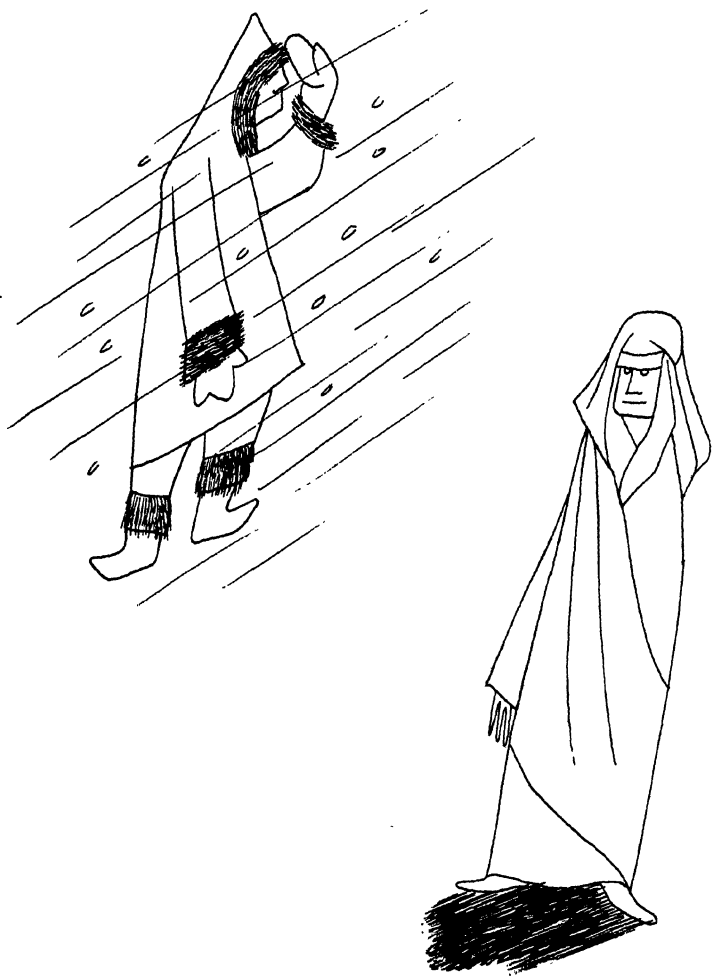
“At the start, the first societies came into being because no one of us is enough in himself. Every man is dependent on other men.



“A number of men come together in a common living place. One helps the others in one way. Another helps them in another way. This group of men is a society.



“Men’s chief needs are food . . .

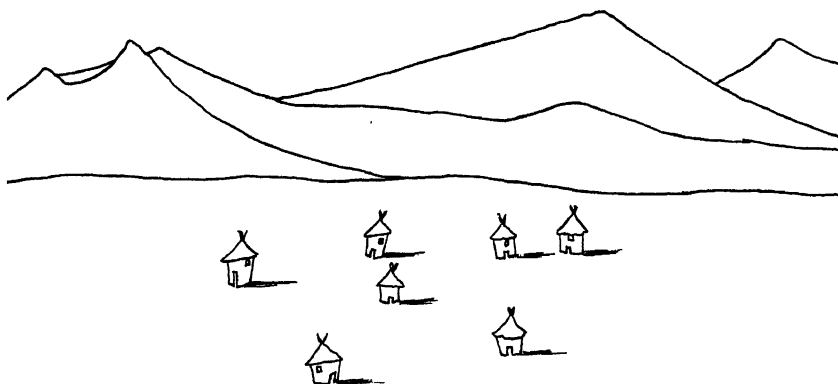


clothing . . .

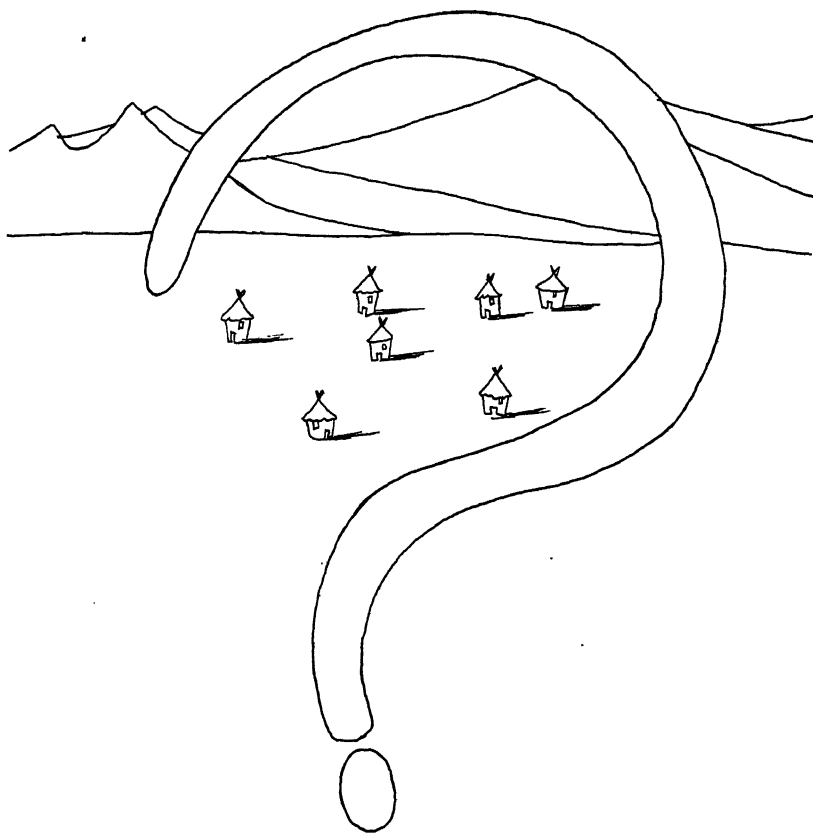


houses . . .

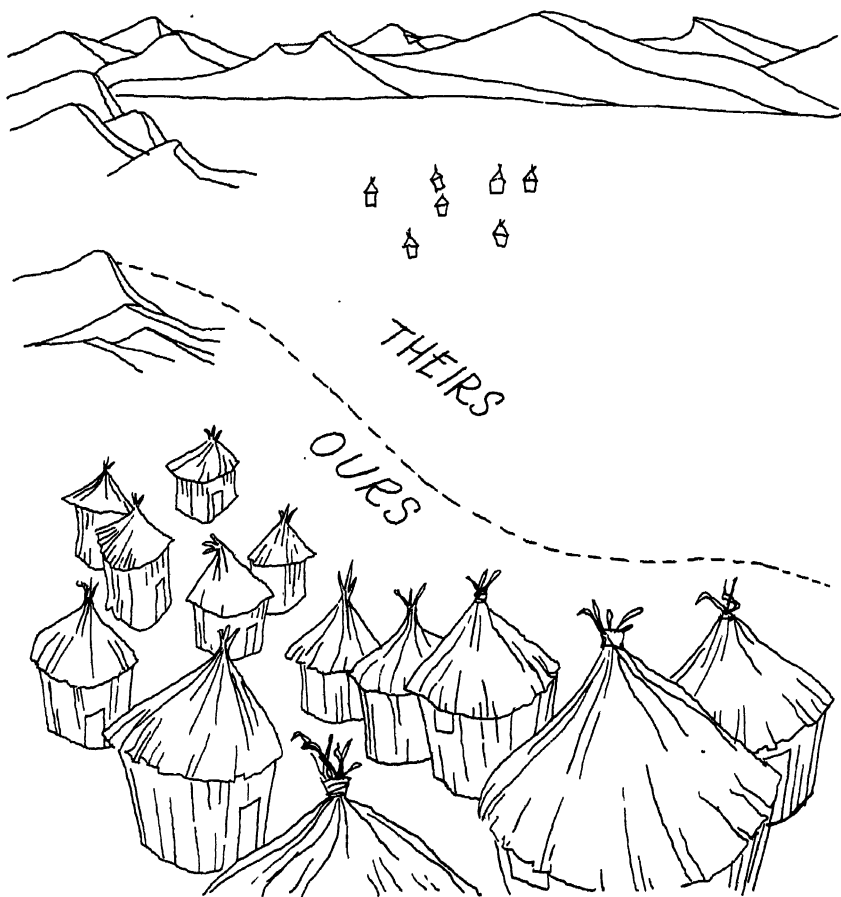
(Something dry under our feet. A roof over our heads.)



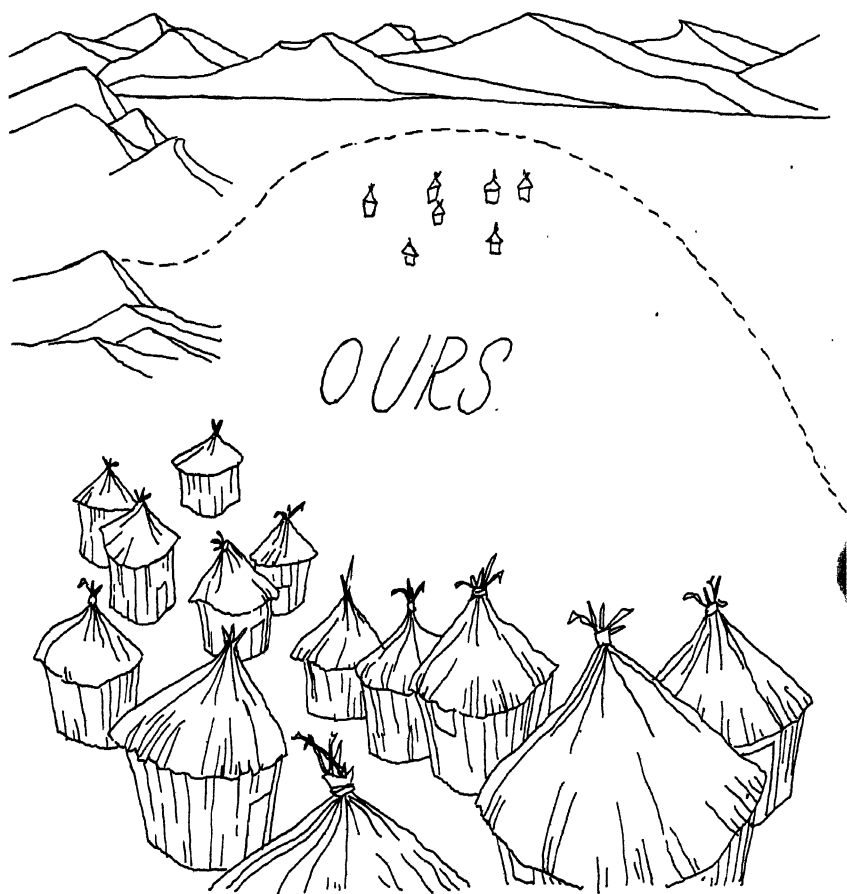
and land . . . enough land for living space.



“How much land is enough? How much living space does a nation need?”



“As a country gets greater it needs more land. It takes it from another country if this other country is not strong enough to keep it.



“Here is the start of war. War is a very simple sort of thing at the start. It comes from the growth of countries in their needs and in their power.”



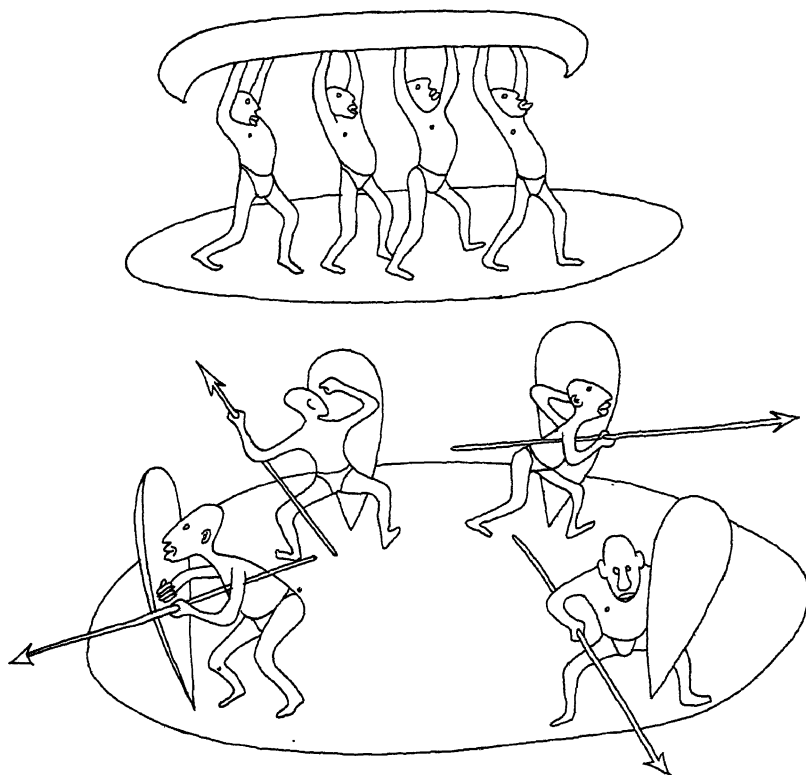
These are the ideas of Plato (427-347 B.C.). They come from Plato's *Republic* (Book II, 369-375), and they are true.

A nation is a society of persons organized for:

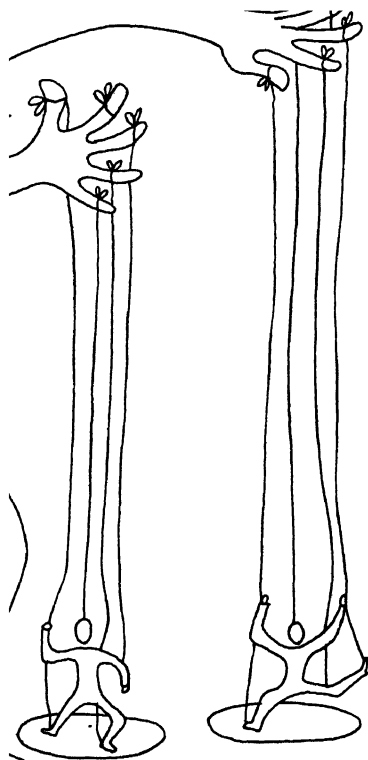
Helping one another,
Keeping off other nations.

It has two purposes:

Self-help,
Defense.

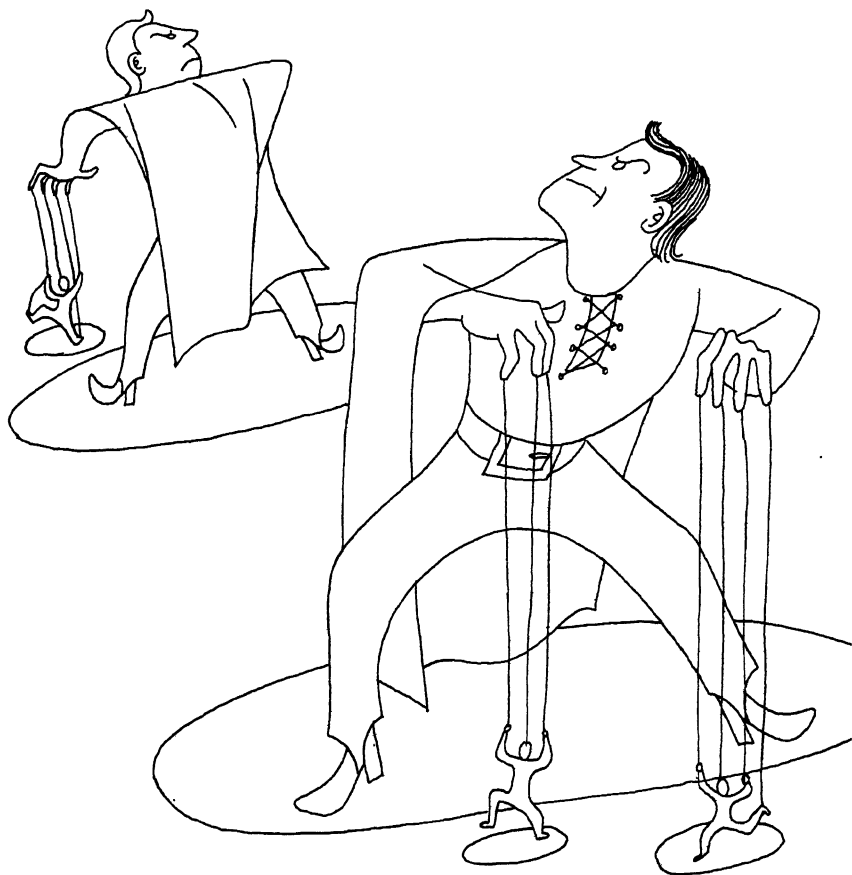


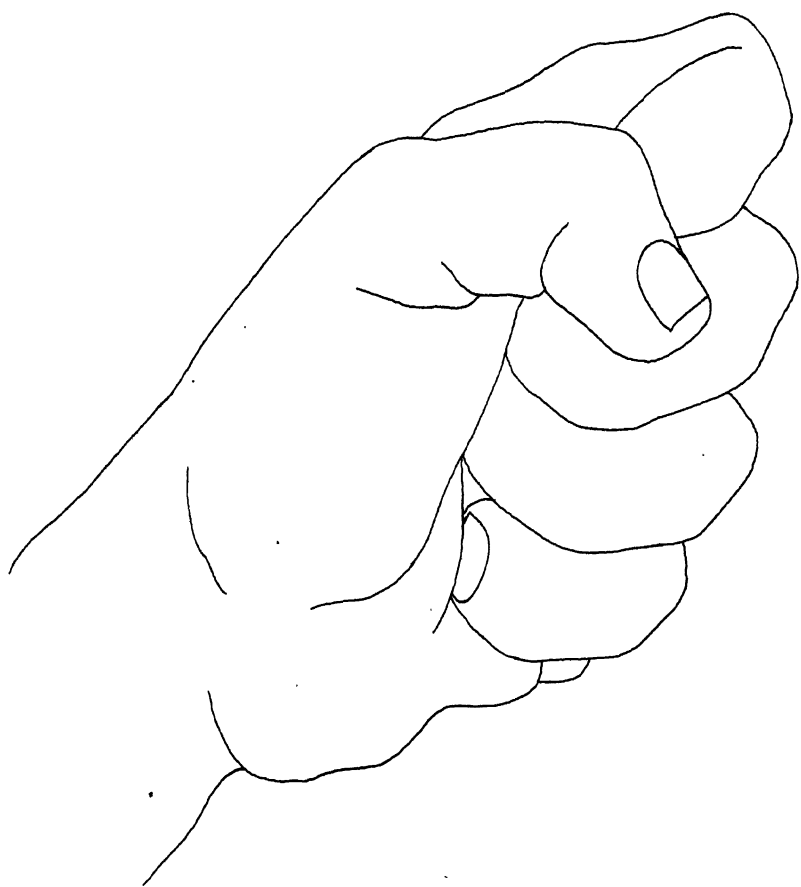
What nations are there, today, on the earth? The number is not certain. Some are so much under the control of a greater nation. They have no separate power of making decisions.



The greater nation makes their decisions for them. It says what they have to do.

In its doings with other nations and within itself a great nation makes its own decisions. It says, "Keep out. This is my business."



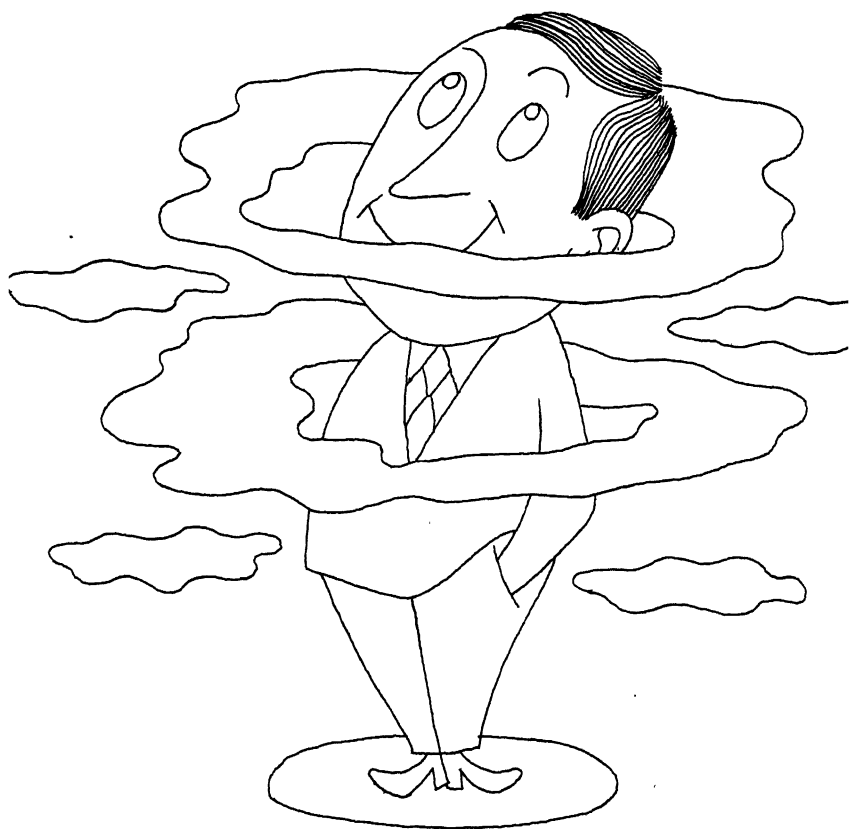


A nation is an organization for defense. It makes war.



A nation with no power of self-defense is not a complete nation. It is kept in existence by other nations—for their purposes. Its common history, language, arts, and ways of living may make it seem a complete nation, but it is not. It cannot make war. Nations make war.

We have strong feelings about nations—LOVE for our own nation, FEAR of other nations. We do not see through these feelings to the facts. That is why our ideas about nations and peace are not clear.





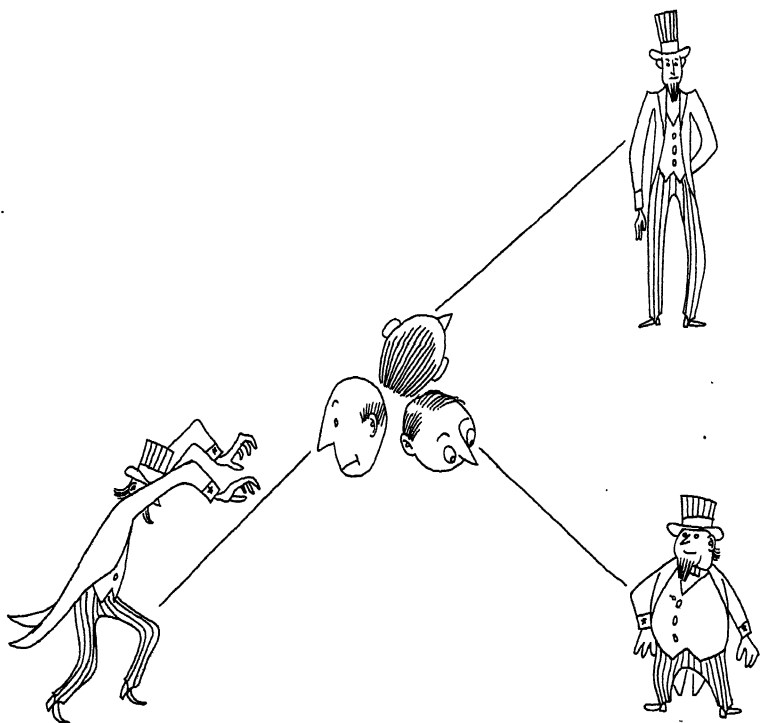
There are good reasons for these feelings. Our nation has given us much. We would not have come into existence without it. It has helped us from our birth on. And sometimes it has kept us safe—from other nations.



All that we have and are may seem to come to us from our nation. It is greater than we are.



At the same time it is ourselves. If it becomes greater we seem to become greater ourselves. A wound to it seems a wound to ourselves.



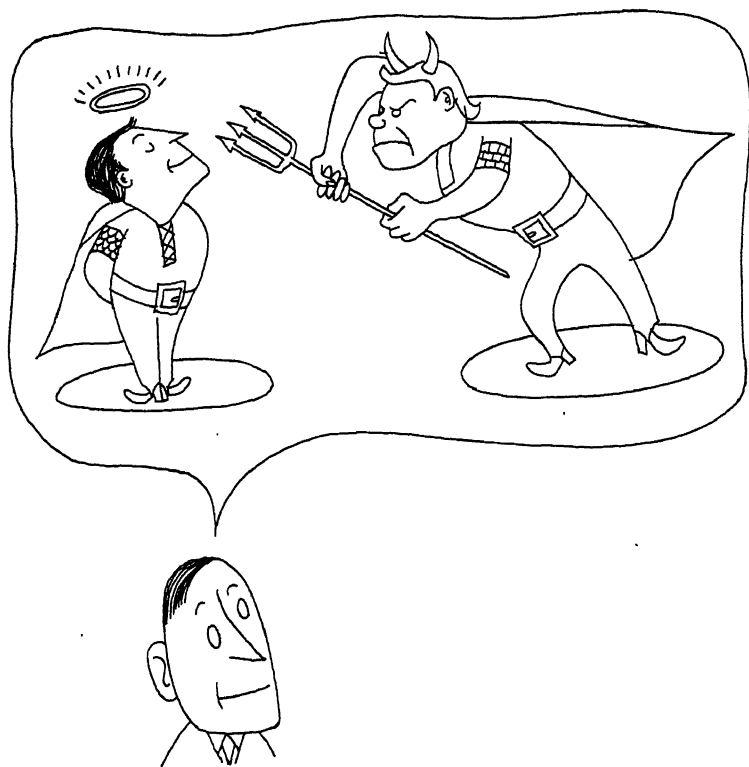
These feelings come to us from history. We see our nation as—teacher said—it was, or as, we hope, it will be. To see it as men of other nations see it is hard. To see it as it IS is hardest of all.

We see other nations as—the books say—they have been, or as, we fear, they will be. To see them as the men in them see them is harder. To see them as they ARE is hardest of all.

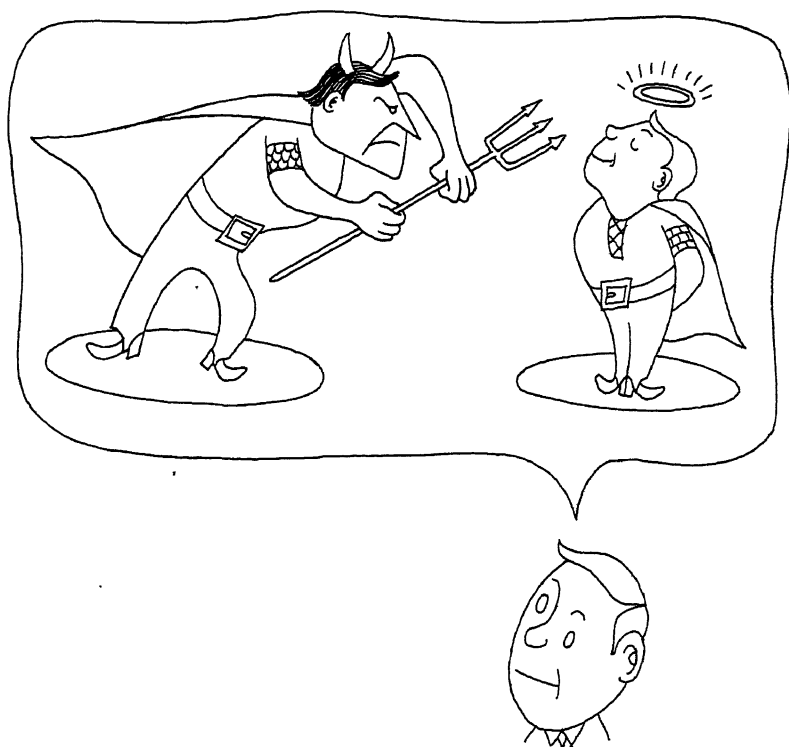
Our picture of the future comes from our picture of the past. And that picture is commonly false. Our pictures of our own nation and of other nations are chiefly made up of feelings.



Nations themselves are kept up by feelings.

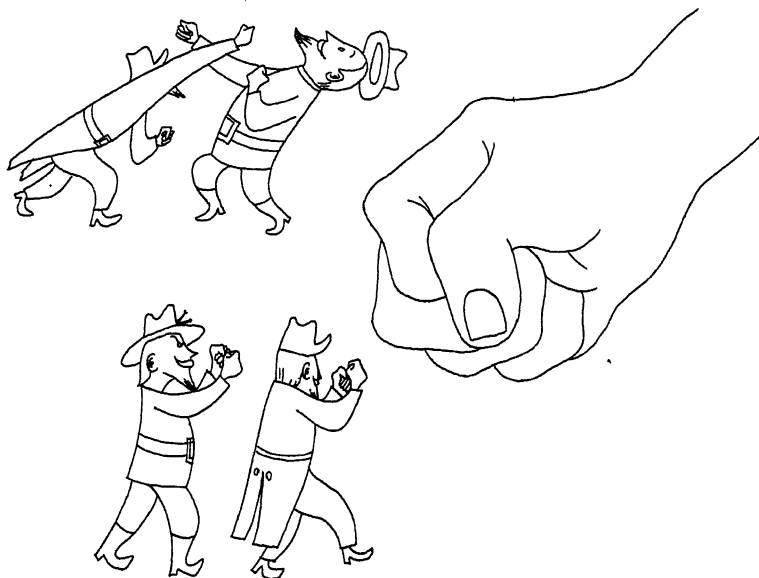


Every man, at first, sees his own nation as right

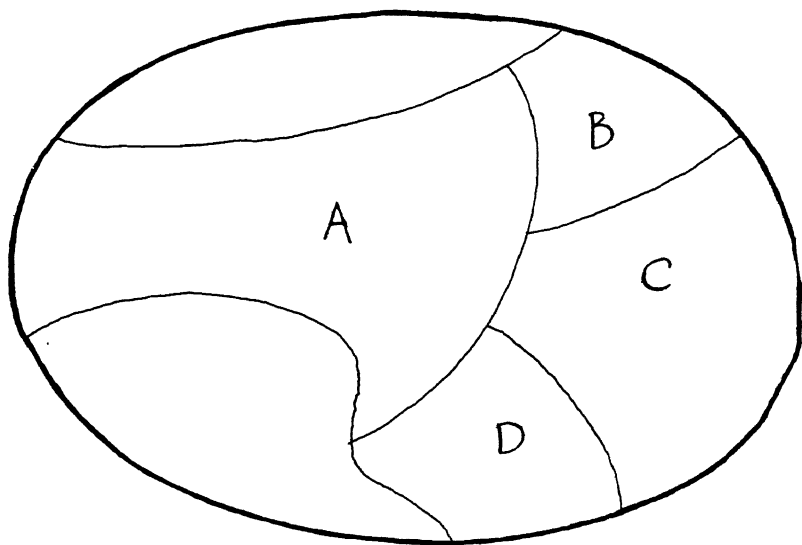


and other nations as wrong.

What makes a nation? What keeps a nation together? Many forces, but chiefly fears of and pressures from other nations. If there had been a Hitler ready to attack these United States in 1858 would there have been a War Between the States?

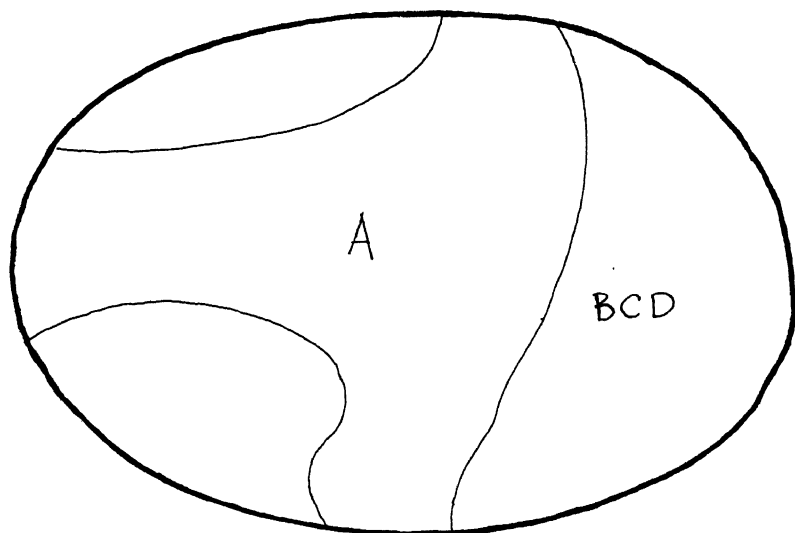


Nations are like this.

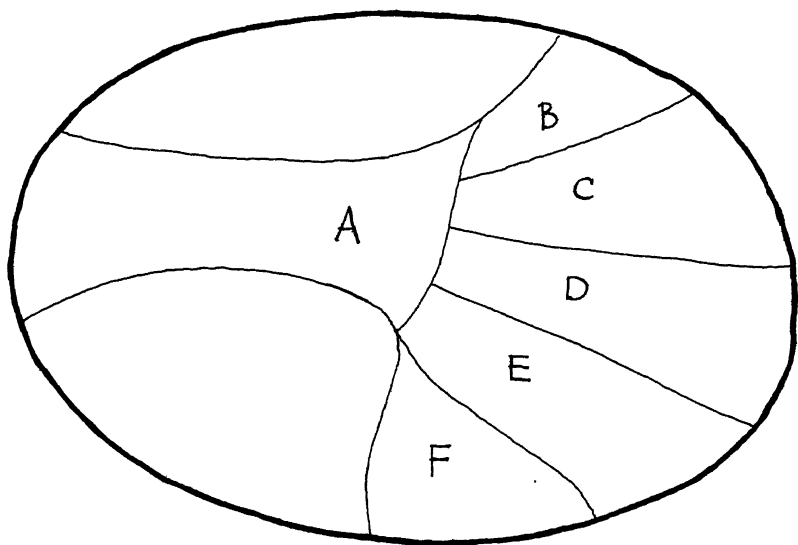


The power of any nation changes with the powers of the other nations.

If one nation's power becomes greater, other nations are changed. As A gets greater, two or more other nations (B, C, D) may become one. And the pressures of all the nations on one another are changed.



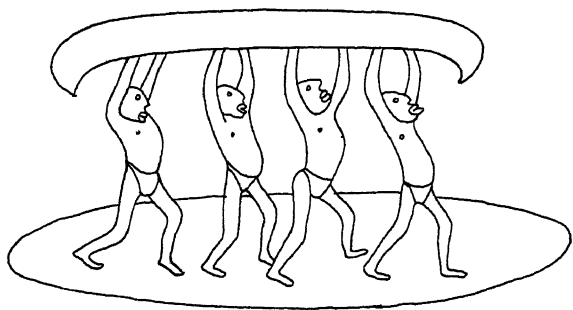
When the power of a nation becomes less, new nations may come into being. For example: two or three or more new nations may come into being in India when the control of Britain over India is ended.



Or danger from other nations may make India become one nation, a new nation.

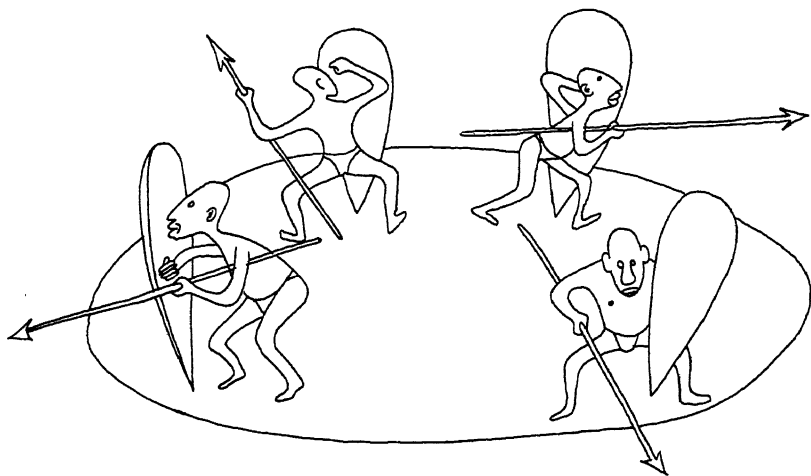
Two sorts of forces make a nation and keep it together:

A. The language, history, arts, and ways of living common to its people, with the love and respect for one another and for their nation which are the outcome.



SELF-LOVE

B. Its need for defense against other nations—and the FEAR of and PRESSURE from other nations which is its outcome.

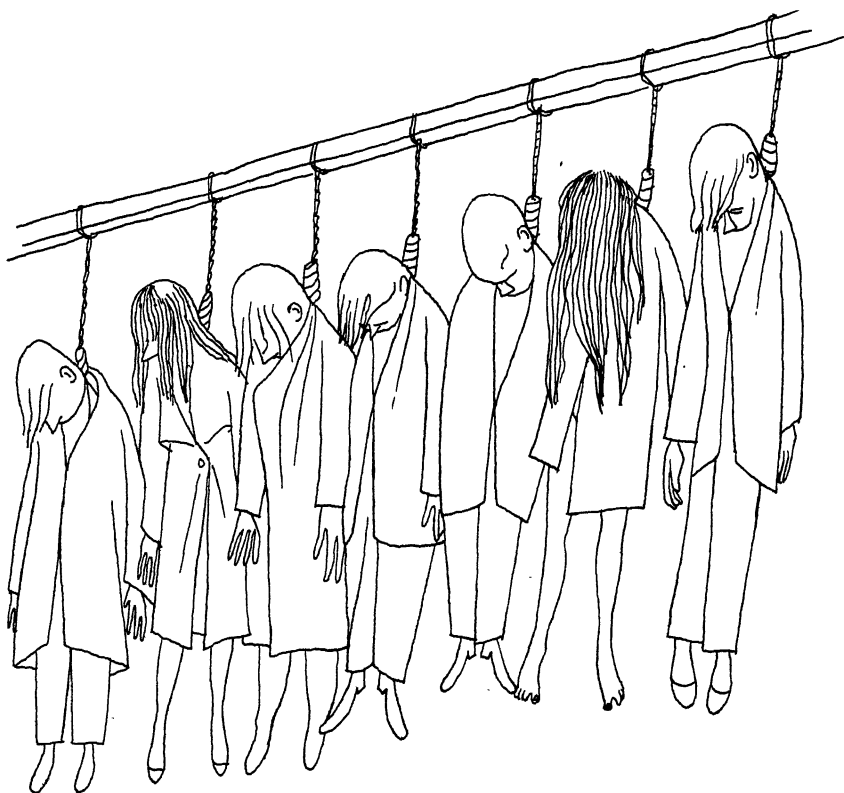


FEAR OF OTHERS

Self-love and fear of others are the chief forces which make nations what they are.

If there were no need for defense would there be any NATIONS? There would be thousands of groups united by their common languages, history, ideas, religion, ways of doing things (of getting married, for example) ; but would these groups be NATIONS?

How much would be changed by the ending forever of war and danger of war? Would men's love for their countries become less? A man's love for his country is frequently the best thing in him.



On the other hand, most of the worst things which men have done to men were done in the name of defense.

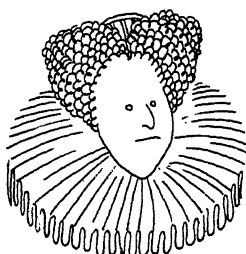
How much of our thought and feeling is formed through our need for defense? Who are great men in history? What are great events? Great men and great events are commonly great because they helped some nation to overcome others or keep from being overcome.



Washington



Napoleon



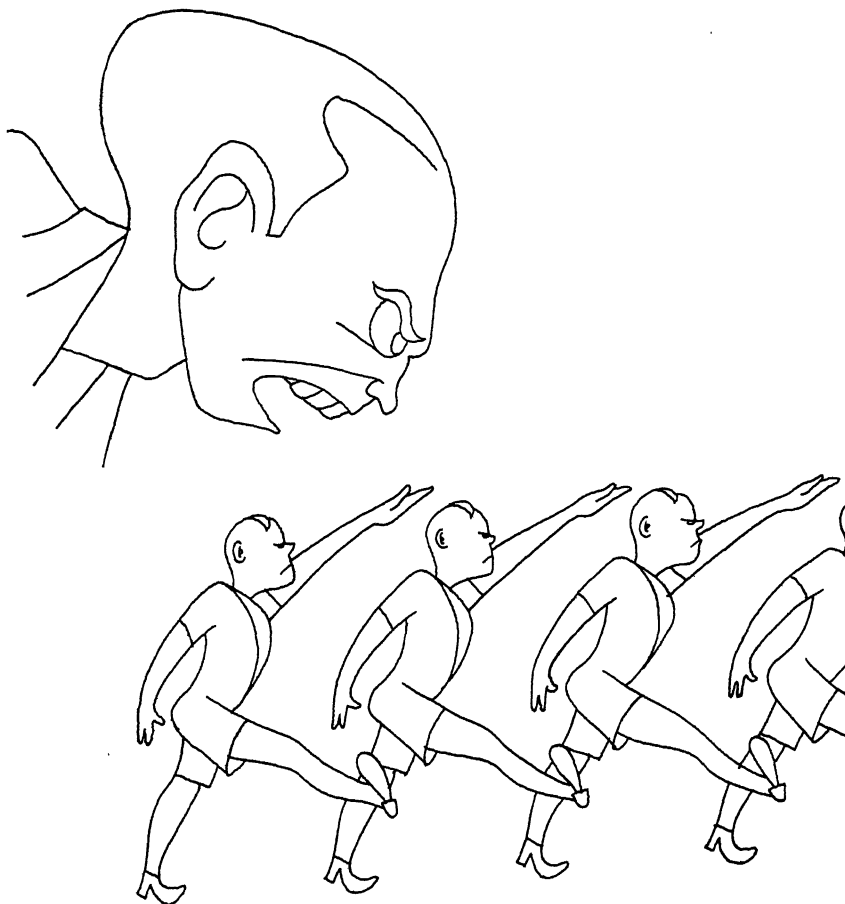
Elizabeth



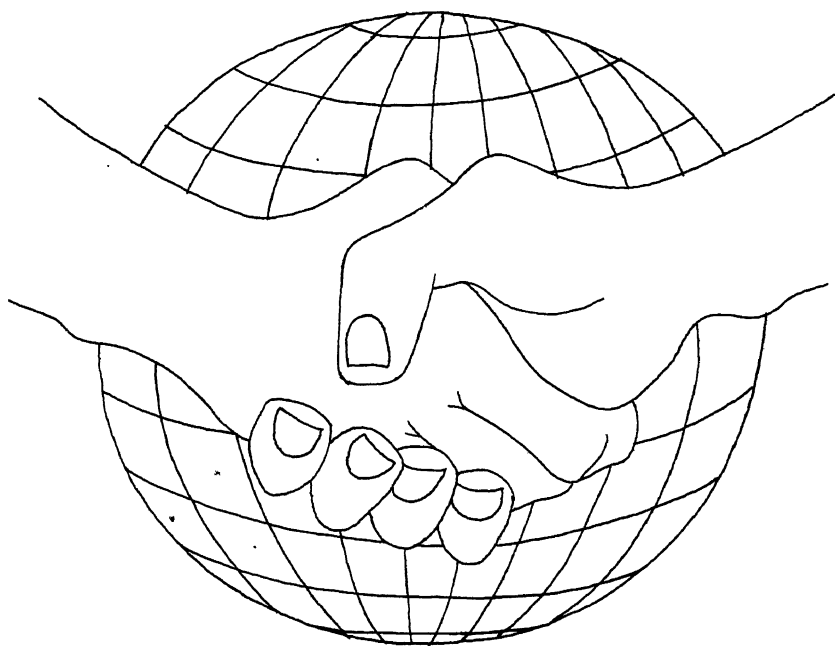
Lenin

Our minds are formed by our need for defense. Our ideas of what is best in man are formed by our need for defense. "War is the great educator," said Goebbels—the man who made the minds of the Germans ready for World War II.

Is this true? Is war the great educator? War makes men learn. Goebbels hoped it would teach Germans how to make war.

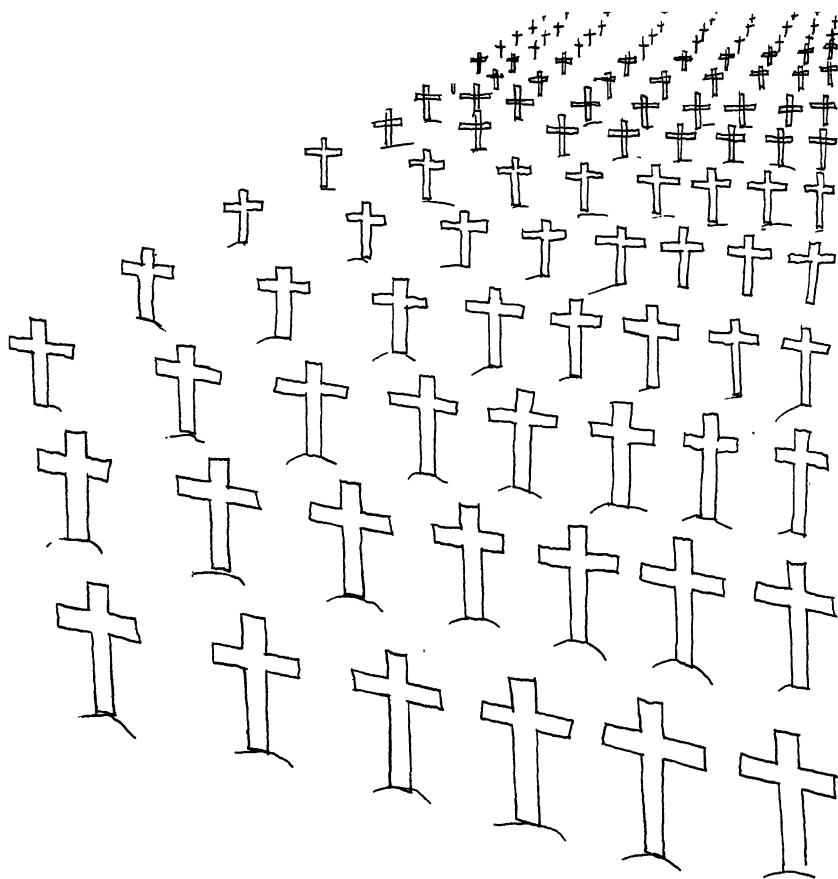


We hope it has now taught all men how to end war.

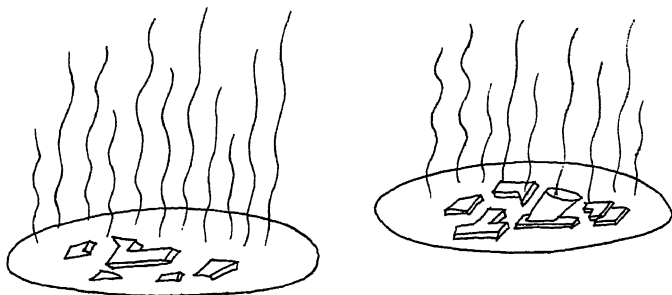
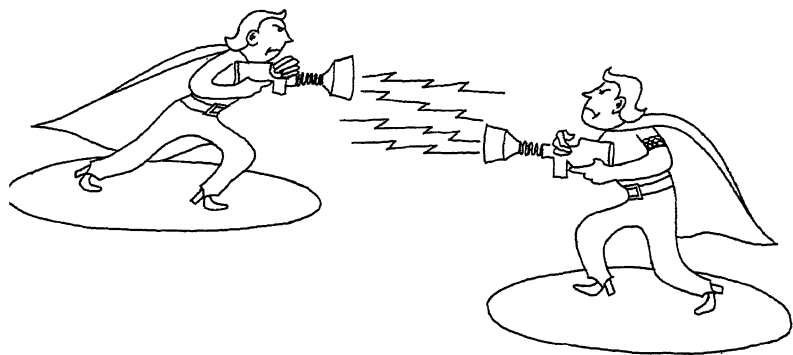


We must end war or be ended by it now.

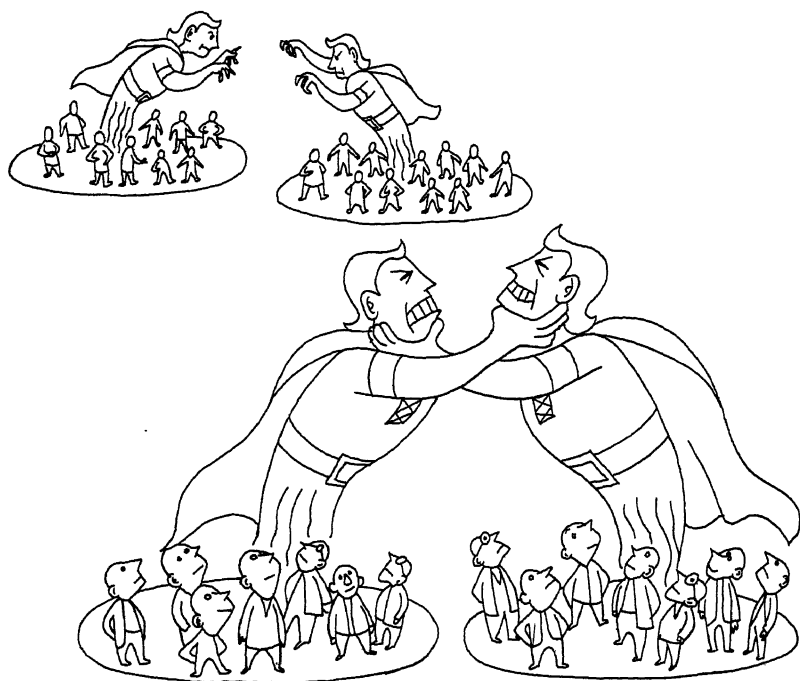
In any strong nation men have to be ready to give their lives for the nation. That is their payment for peace. They make it because in the past the nation has been their way of keeping themselves and their families safe.



But today the nations are no longer a way of keeping anyone safe. To **EVERYONE** now nations are the greatest of all dangers.



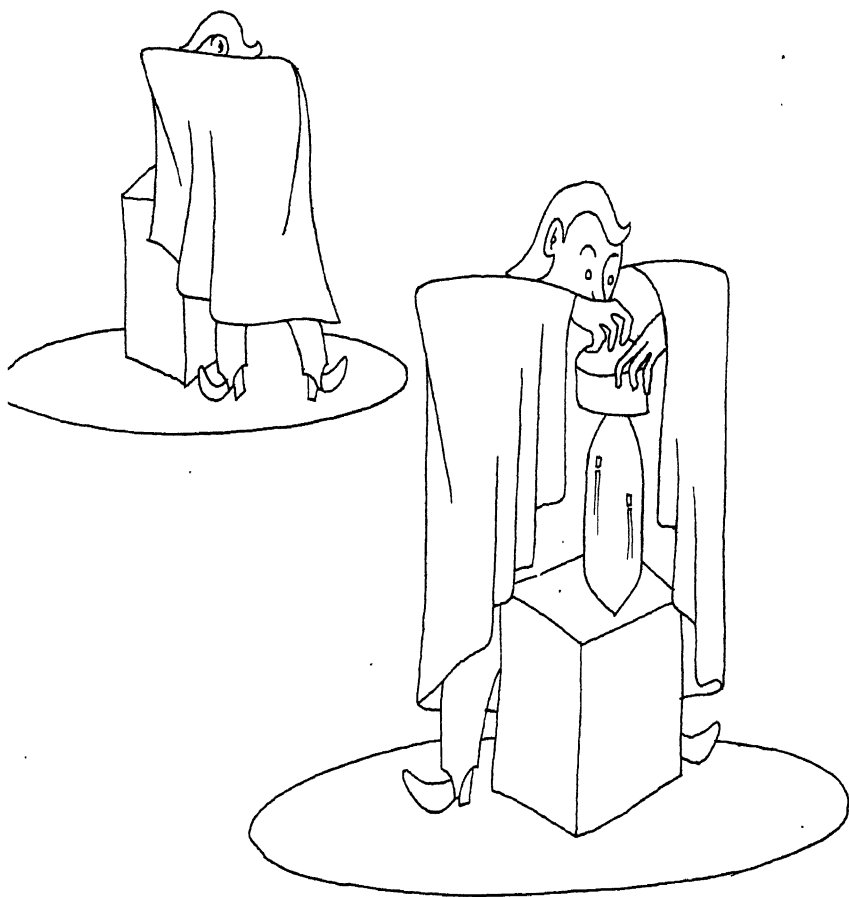
The basic cause of war is the existence of nations. When war seems near, men's feelings about their nations get stronger. Fear and love and hate increase together then. Clear ideas are harder to get. Only clearer ideas will save us.



What is war? Our ideas about war are over-simple. For most men a war only starts when the guns go off or the bombs come down.

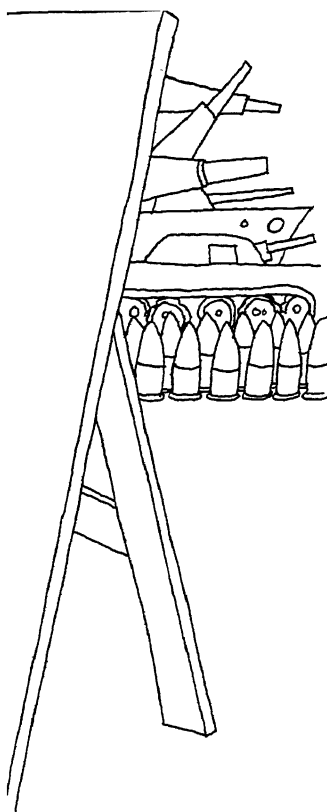
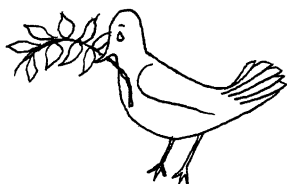


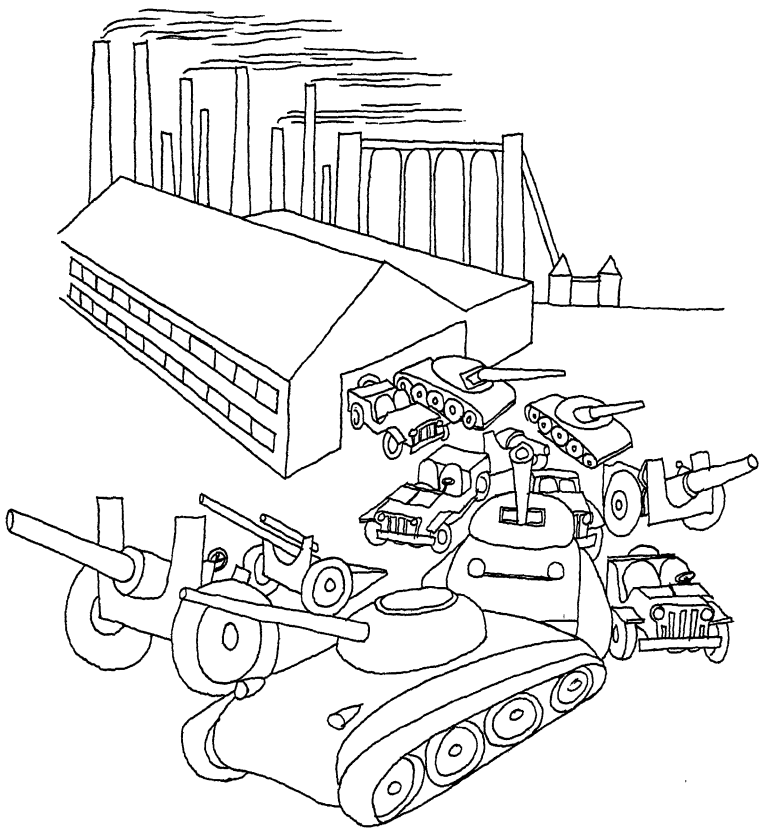
But the fighting is only the last part of a process which is going on all the time.



All great nations are forever at war, or getting ready for war. Getting ready for war is a quieter form of fighting. While any one nation is getting ready for war, other nations have to get ready as well.

Peace today is only a secret form of war.

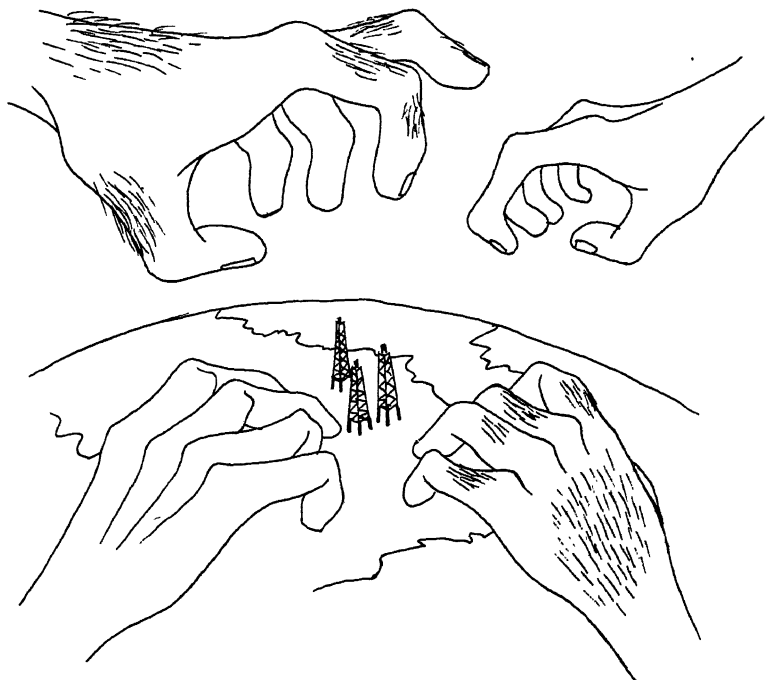




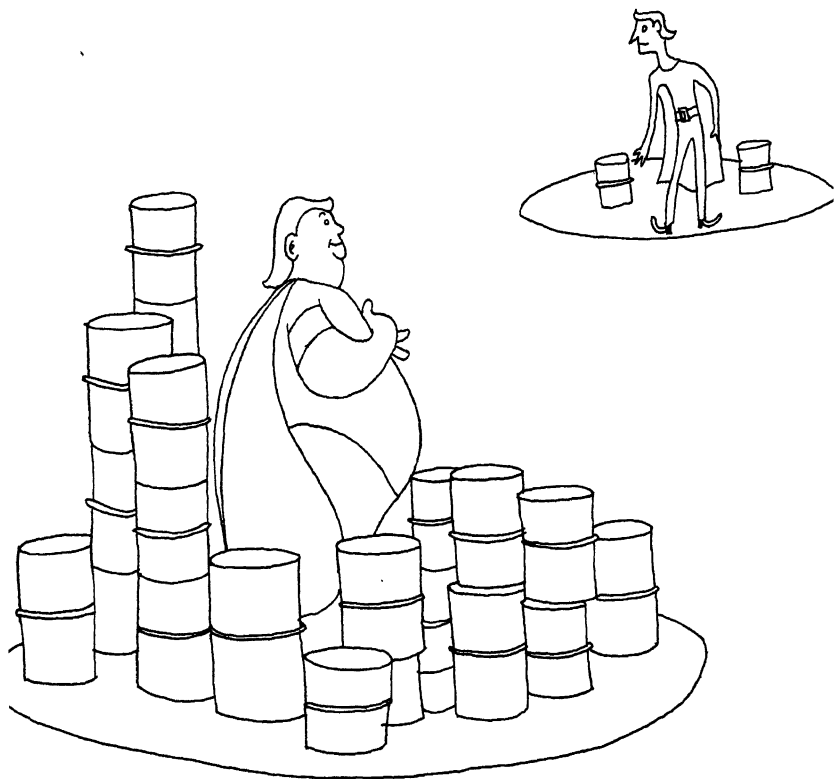
Getting ready for war today is a much more complex process than in the past. It is much more than making arms and keeping up armed forces.

To be ready for war we have to keep up the industries needed for war.

To be ready for war we have to get control of the metals,
oil, food, and other things needed for war.



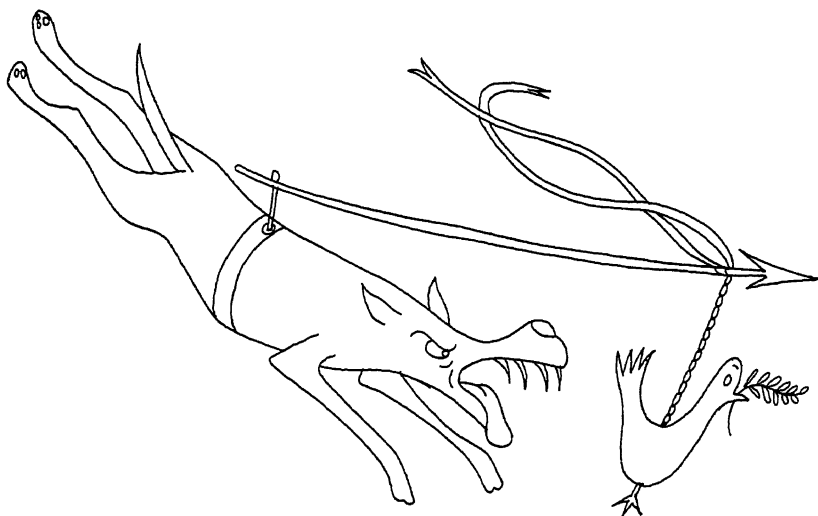
War has many forms. When a nation, to increase its power, gets control of oils or metals (uranium) . . . or food or land or anything . . . needed more by other people, it is making war.



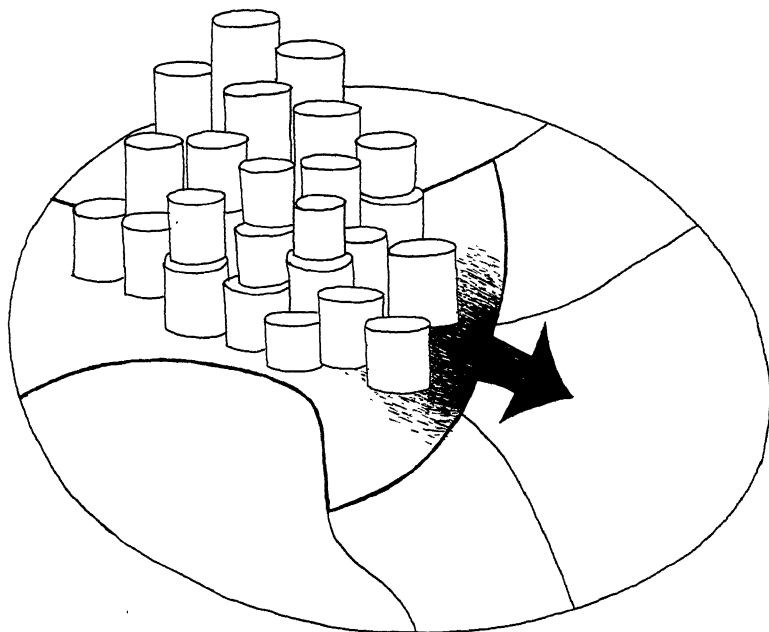


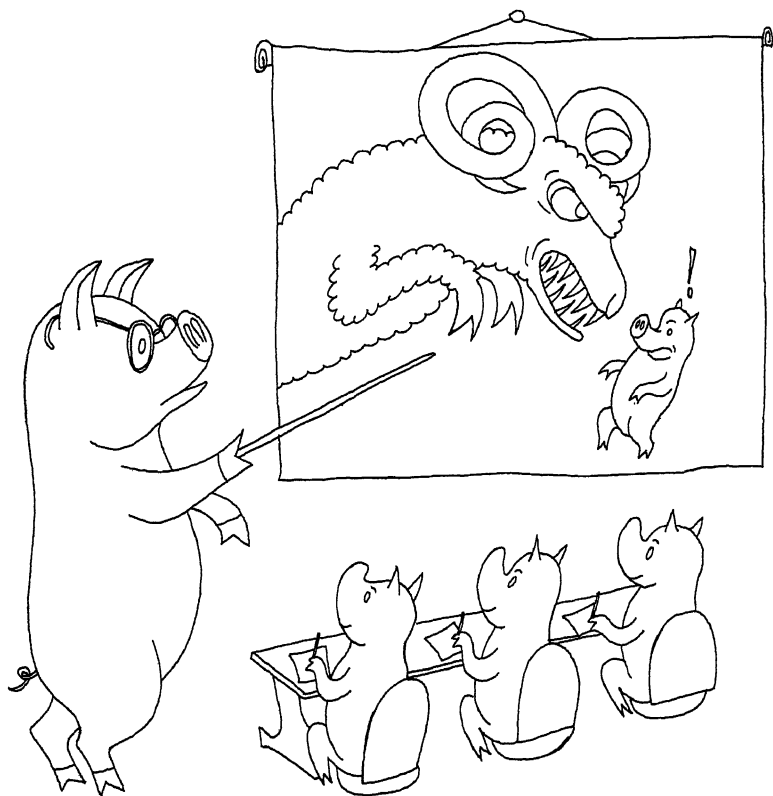
Needed more by other people? At present a nation is the only judge of its own and others' needs.

EVERY way in which a nation increases its power over others is today a form of war. "Peace" today is another name for "War coming."

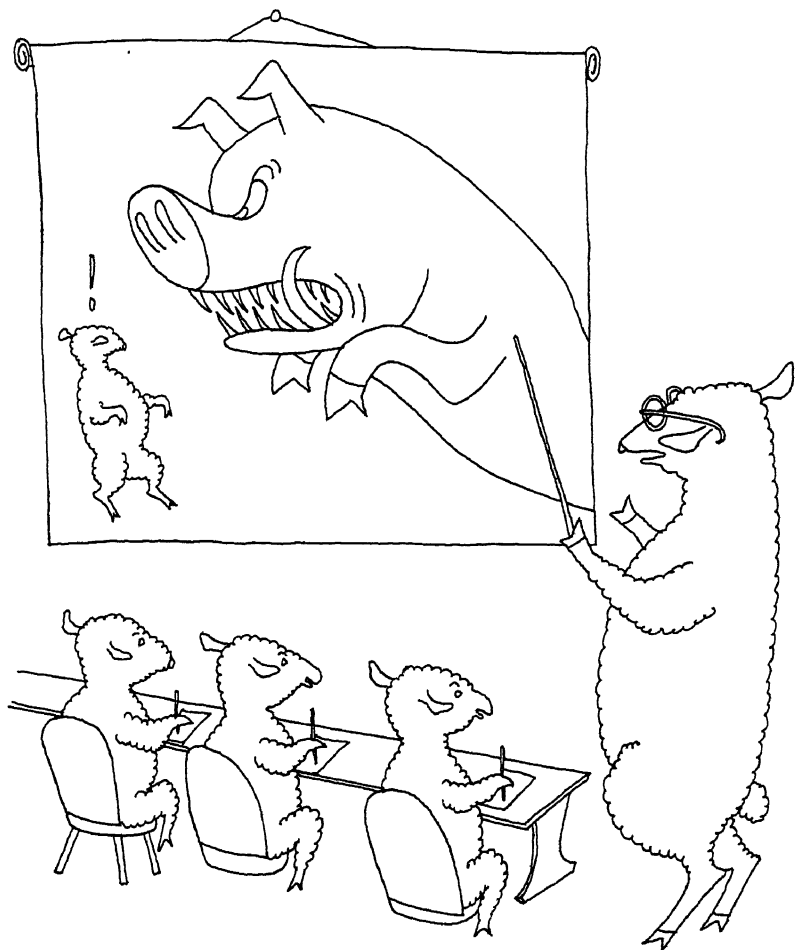


As William James said, “The getting ready is the true war, the fighting is only the public testing of the power building up before.”



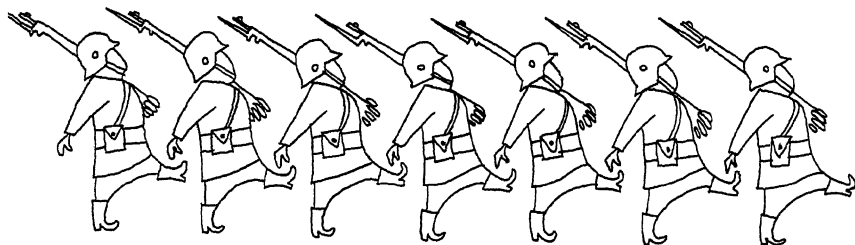


To be ready for war we have to keep men's minds ready for war. We have to keep this idea in everyone's mind: "My nation is right. Other nations are wrong."



All have the same idea. They cannot all be right. Is any one of them right?

Some sorts of governments are readier for war than others.
Which are they?



A government which rules a people as an army is ruled is
readier for war than a free people which rules itself.

Such a government keeps itself in power by controlling its people. It is SELF-SUPPORTING. It rules their bodies *and their minds*.



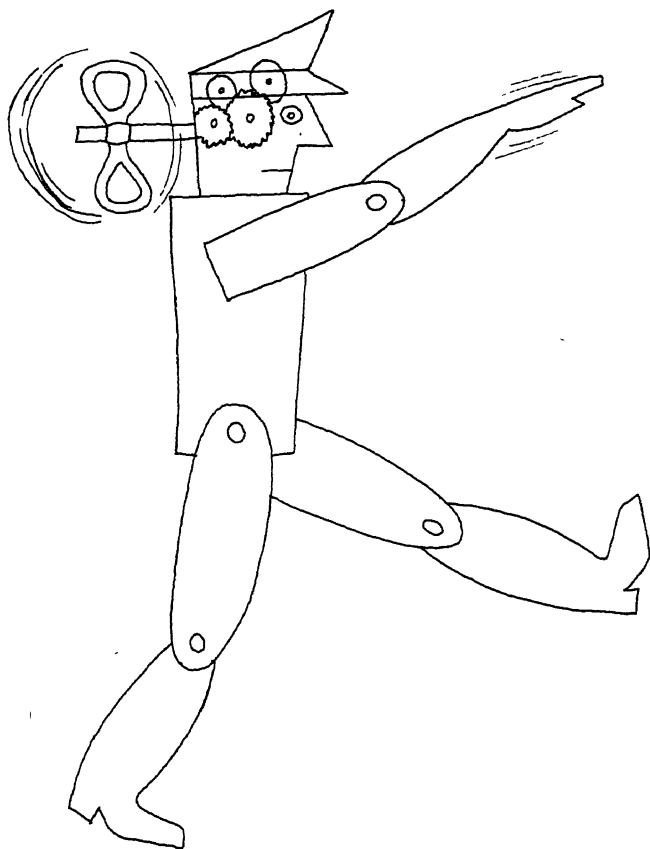
No one can say “No!” and the people cannot change their government.

In clear hours we are full of fears about atomic bombs and other new and worse ways of destruction (biologic war). These new dangers force us to question our ideas of nations and of war. But most of the time we put our heads into the sand and hope that all will be well.

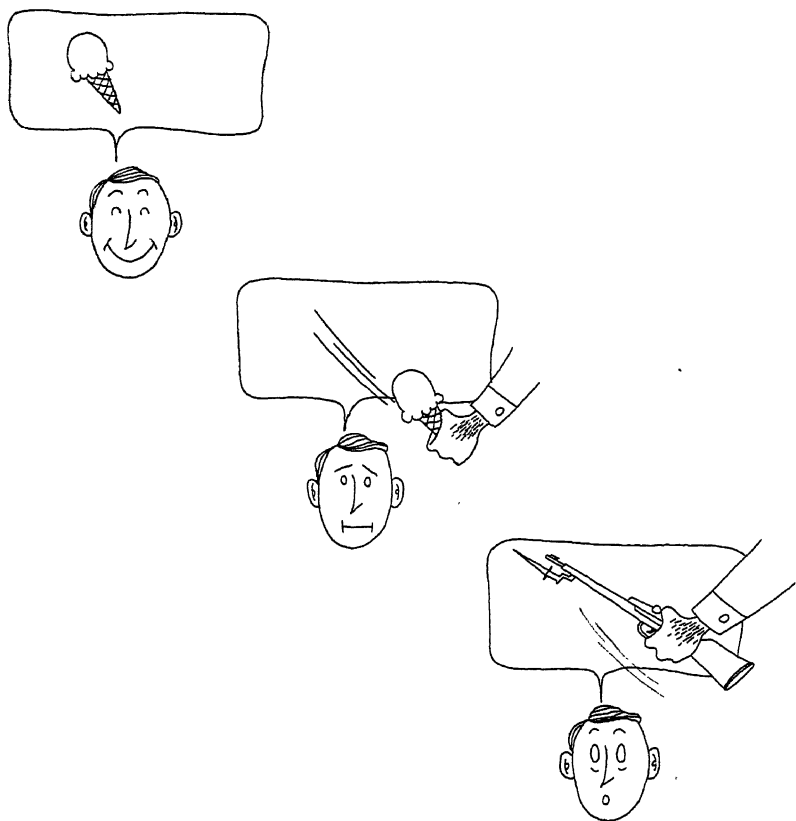


The sand is our everyday doings—all that we have to do to keep on living. We will not go on living if we do not get our heads clear.

There is another new instrument, another new power, in men's hands. It forces us to question our ideas of nations and war still farther. This is the new power which governments now have of controlling men's minds.

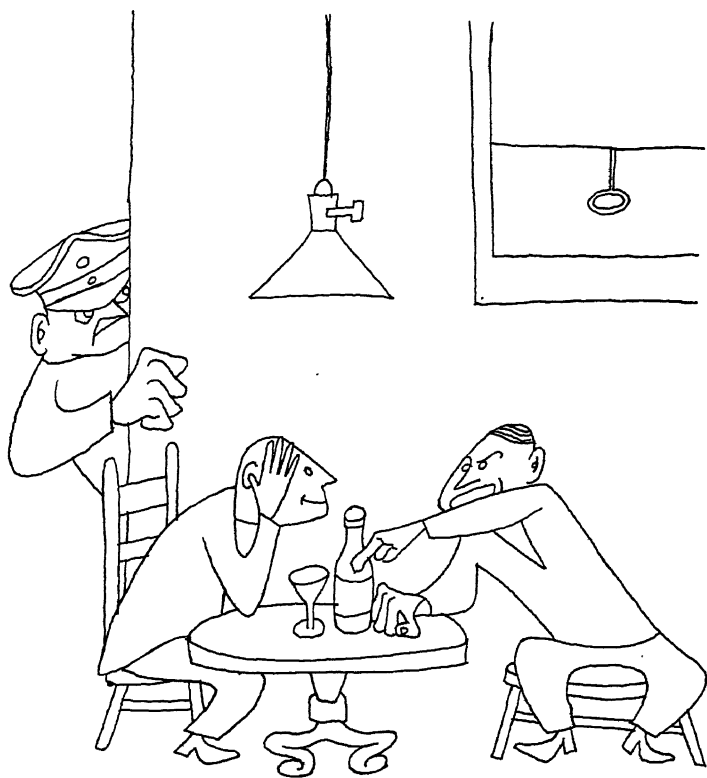


A small group of men (the government) can now make a nation see everything as they see it. They can give it all its ideas, and keep all other ideas from it.



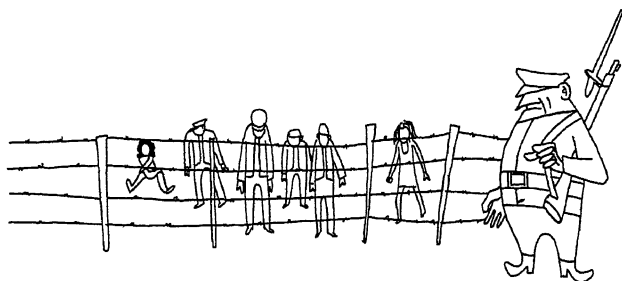
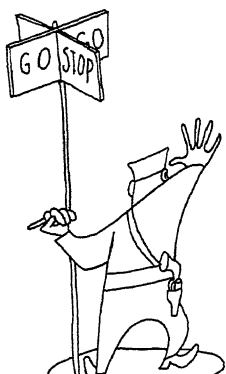
They can make it do anything.

They do this by the control of schools and of news and discussion through the secret police.



The secret police is the key to all these powers. Self-supporting governments are police governments.

Police have two uses—a good use and a bad:

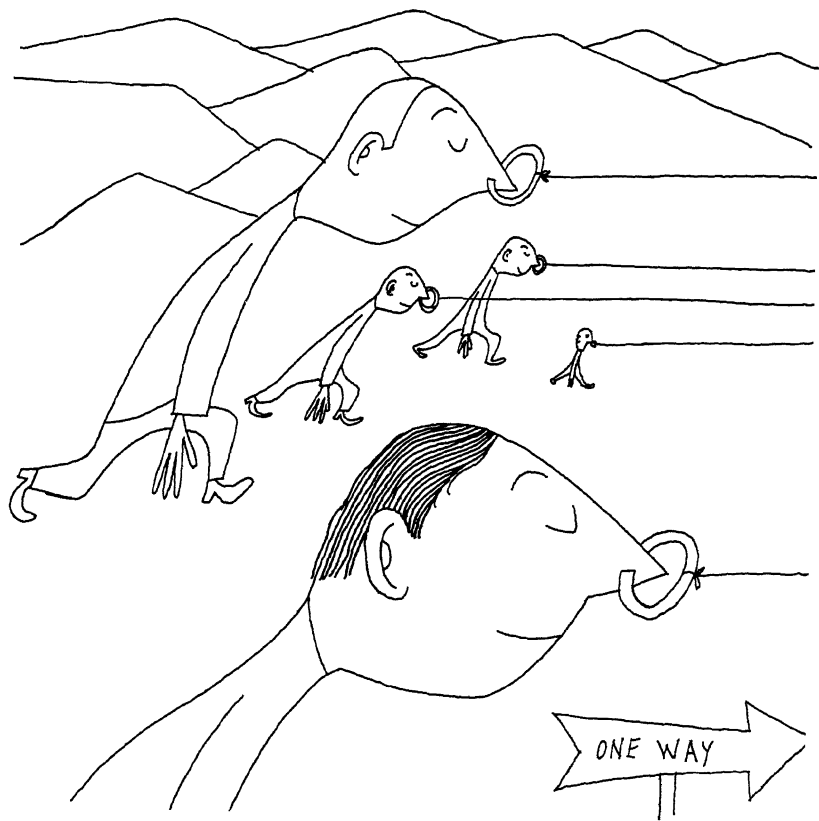


GOOD: To keep men under equal laws from doing wrong to one another.

BAD: To keep a self-supporting government in power.

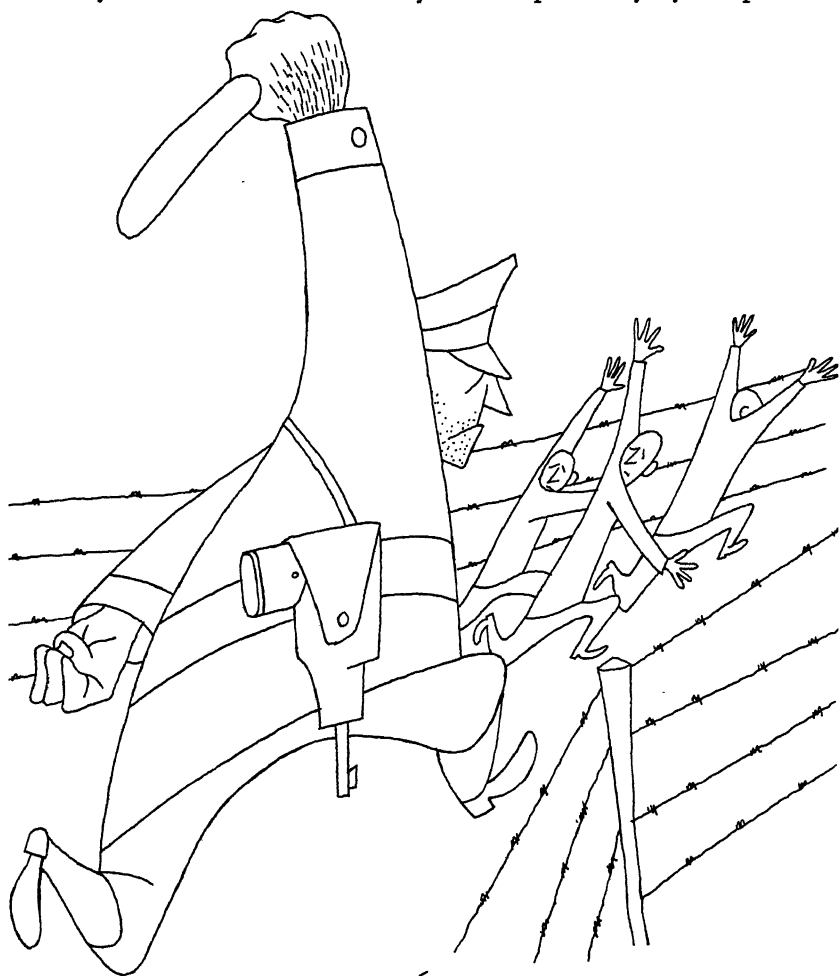
The control of a secret police over a people seems to be unlimited. We have seen in Germany and Japan how far it can go.

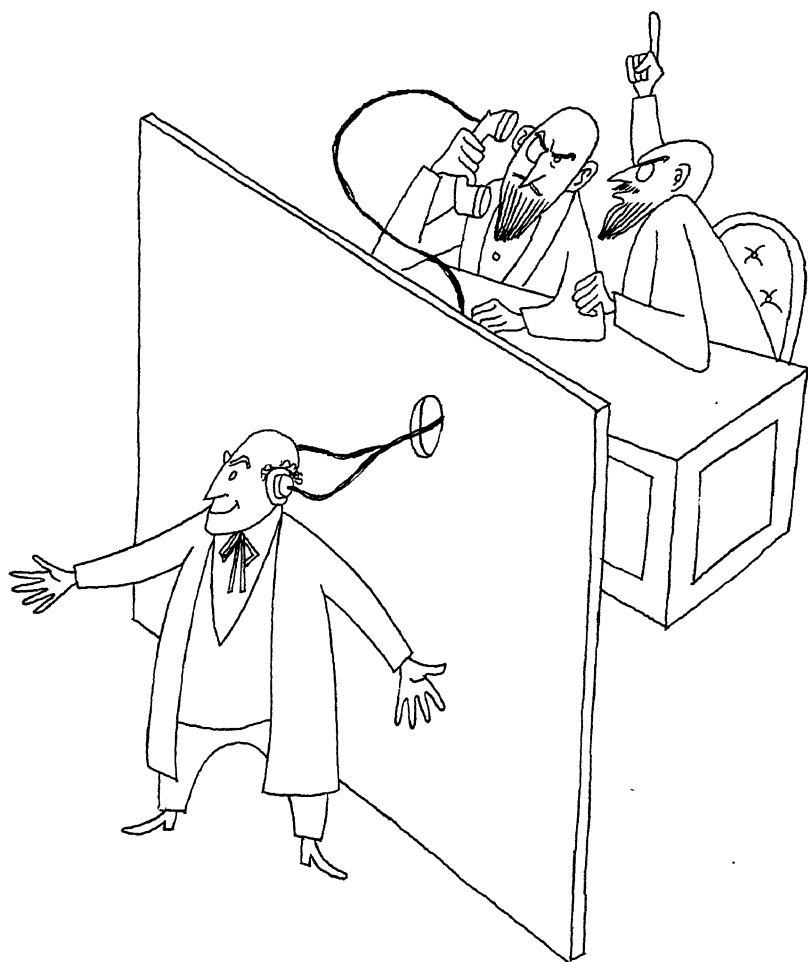
A nation ruled through a secret police is not like a country which rules itself. It is a being of another and a lower order. The minds which make it up are not free. They are not responsible for their beliefs or their acts. Their government takes care of all that for them.



A self-supporting government can make its people believe that they are free. It can make them believe that they, and they only, are truly a Democracy.

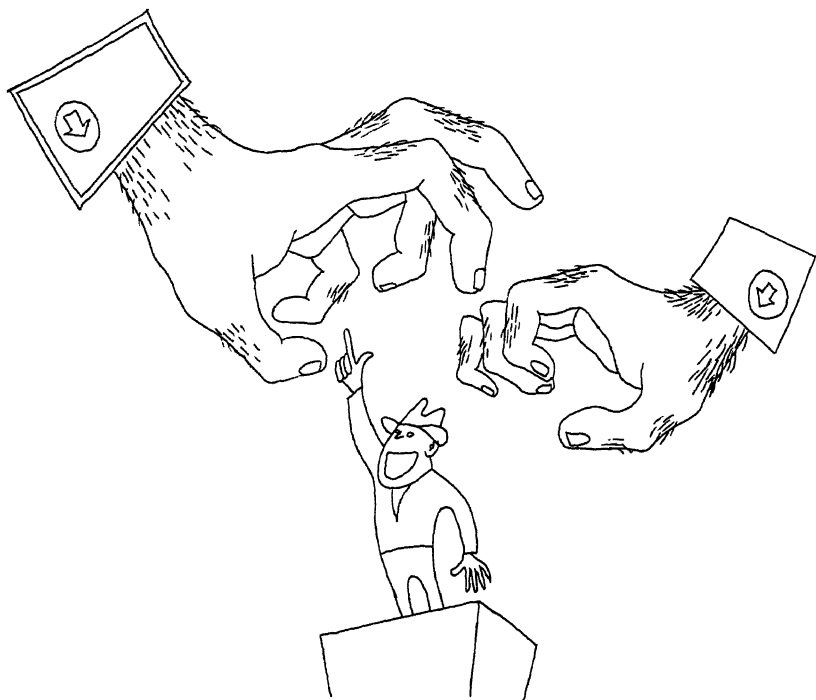
"Through our system only," they say, "is 'government by the people for the good of the people' put into effect. Our rulers act for our true interests. That is true Democracy." Those who will not say this are put away by the police.



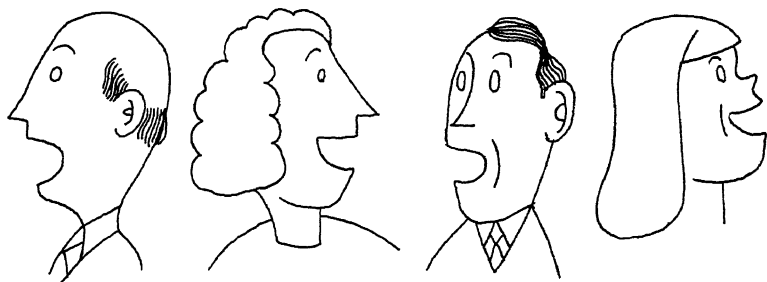


Of the free peoples they say, "They are not free. Their news and their views do not come to them from men acting for their true interests. All this is under the control of groups who are making money for themselves. These groups have their own private interests—not the people's interest—in mind. And those groups control the governments of the free peoples and their newspapers and radio and everything."

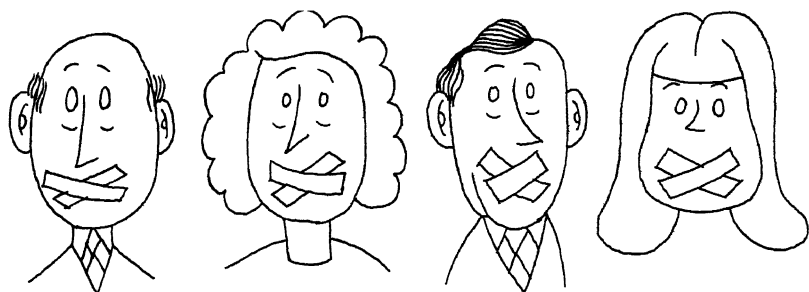
Some of all this is true. But in a free country a man may say these things and go on living, freely, with others who have other beliefs. In a country with a self-supporting government a man who says things against the government says no more. He comes into the hands of the secret police. That is the end of that sort of talk from him.



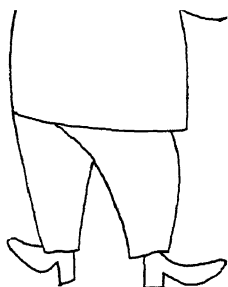
In a free country men and women can say anything. They can even take their ideas from unfree countries and say everything they please against the free country.



But in a country ruled by a secret police no one may talk against the government. Men and women with other ideas have to keep their mouths shut.

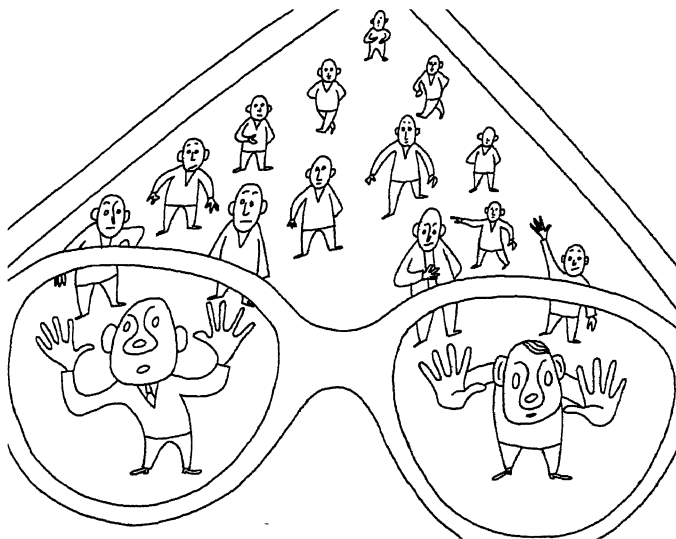


In a free country there is division of opinion. There is loss of time while different ideas are under discussion.



There is waste of purpose because people are not in agreement as to what is to be done or how to do it.

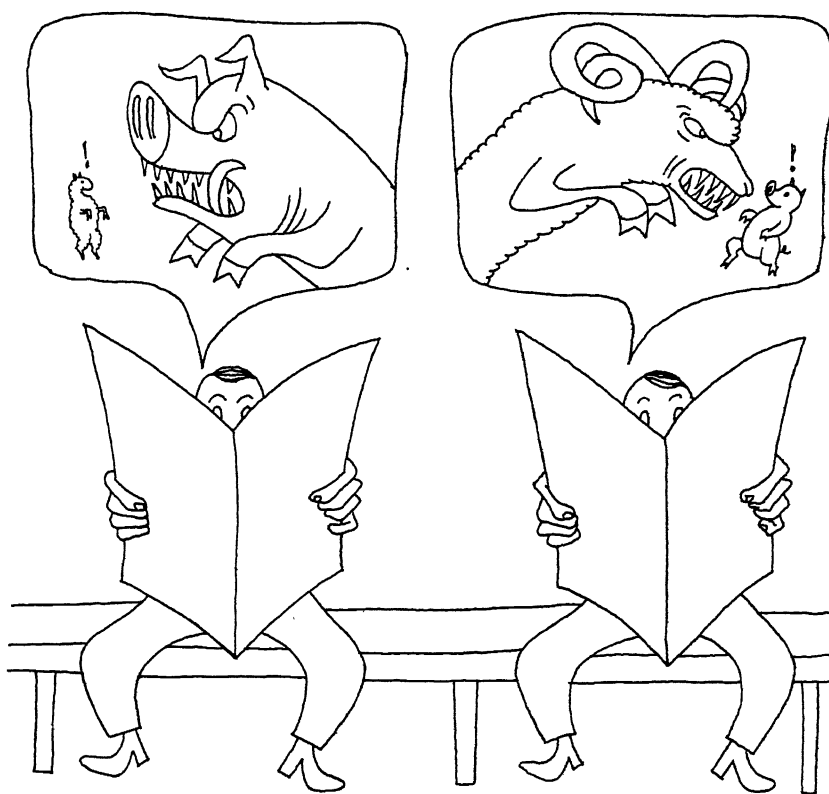
Under a police government there is no division of opinion (or only in the government) . All see things the same way. They are made to. Those with different opinions keep quiet or they are put away.



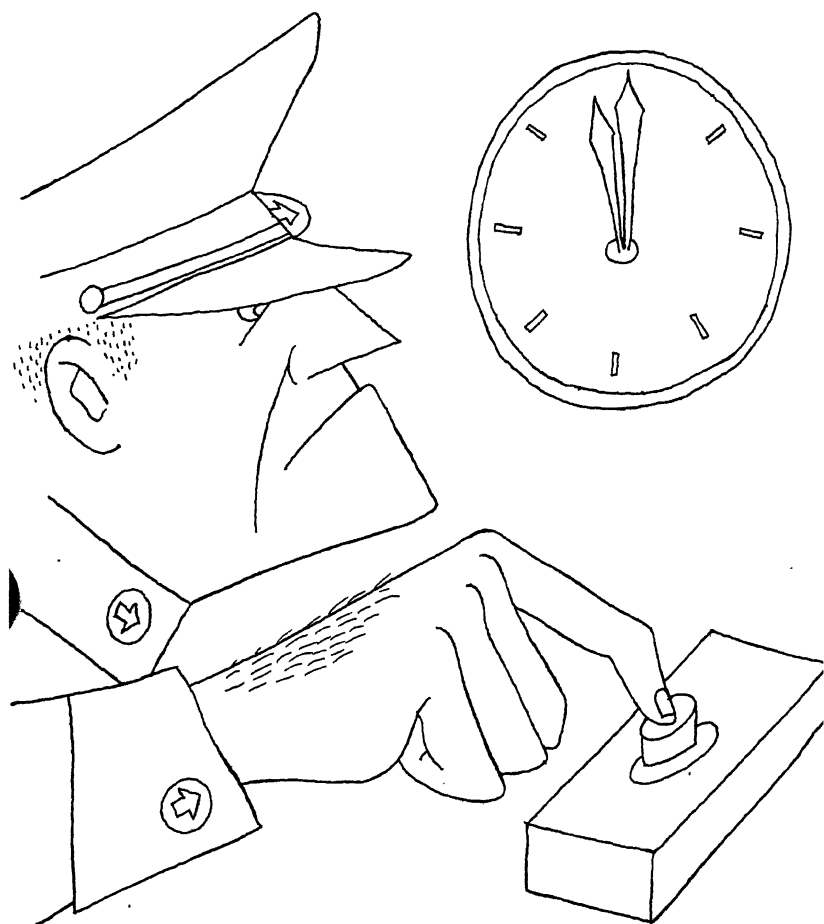
But in free countries the government has to take the people with it in its decisions—by free and open argument and discussion. A police government does not have to do this. It has already made its people of one mind with itself.



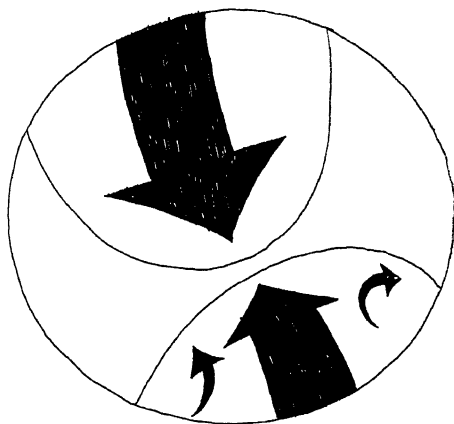
So the free country is slower in acting than the police government. More men in it have to give more thought to what is to be done. Opposite views are being put before them all the time.



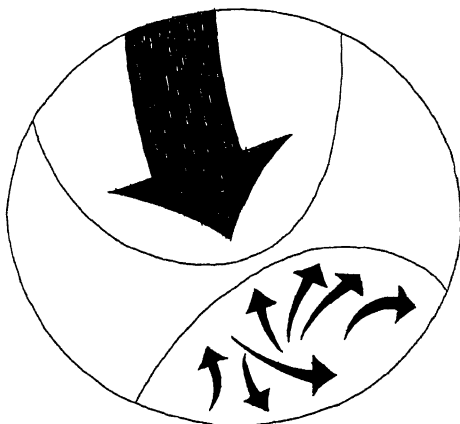
In the police-ruled country only one view—the government view—is before the people.



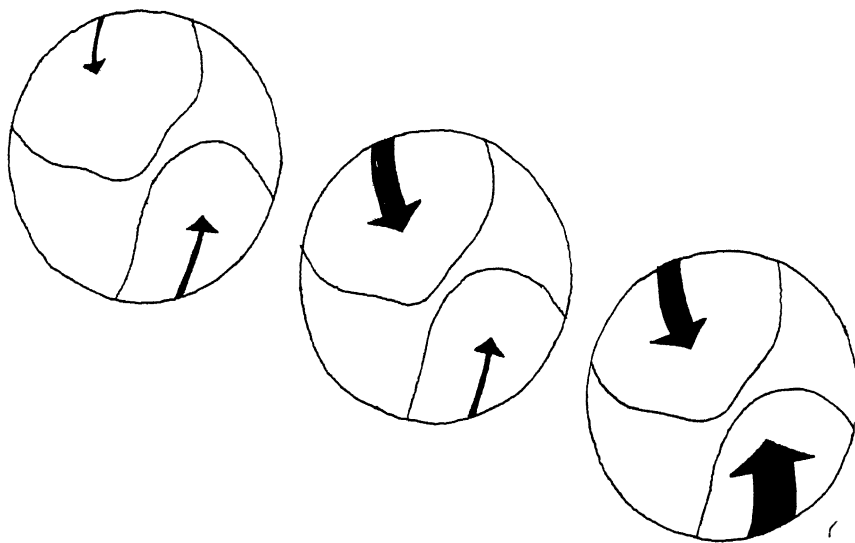
A police-ruled country can go to war in an hour, at any time, without waiting for agreement among its people. A free country cannot go to war till it is attacked. The Bomb and the other great new ways of destruction are for attack. There is no defense against them. The one hope would be to get in the *death blow first*. That one hope may be the death of us ALL.



Every great nation is in some degree a danger to other nations. The causes which make a free country slow to act make it less dangerous to others, and make a self-supporting government more dangerous.



In *self-defense*, free countries will have to become less free. Their governments will have to take more control over everything. Over what men do and say and over their minds as well. They can do this. They will do it—if the causes of wars are kept as they are today.



What are the causes of war?

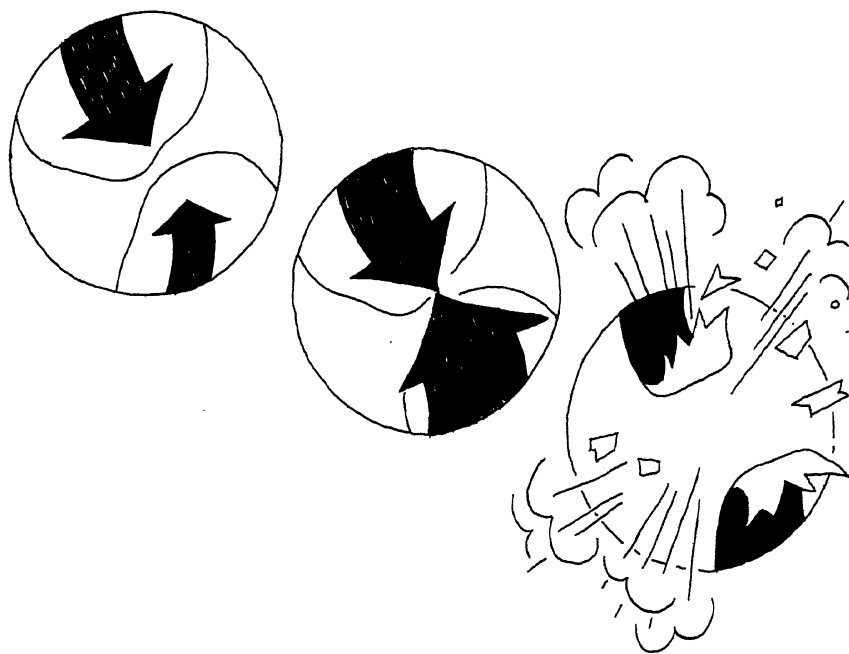
A nation, we saw, is a body of men united in two ways:

By things they have in common.

By the pressures of other nations upon it.

And *this last* is the root cause of war.

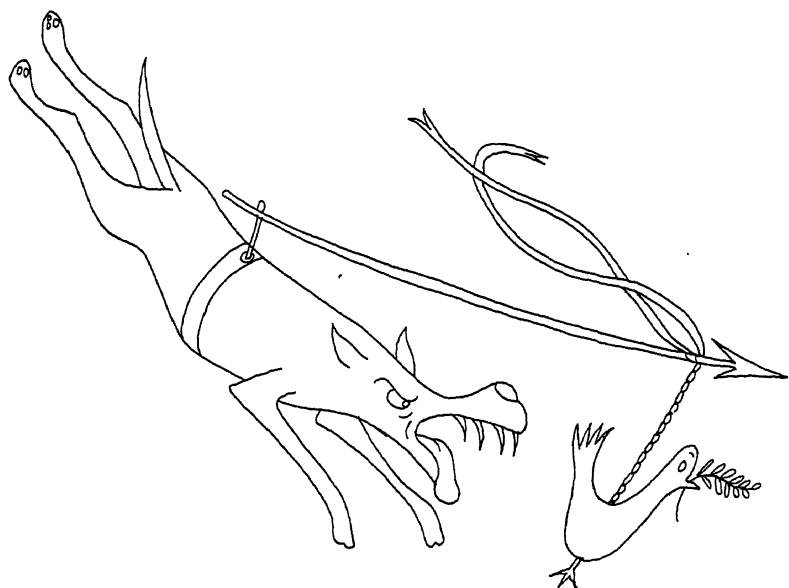
Two governments acting through fear of one another must be dangerous to one another. Their fears and their doubts of one another increase together. While nations have their defense in their own hands there is no way of stopping this increase.



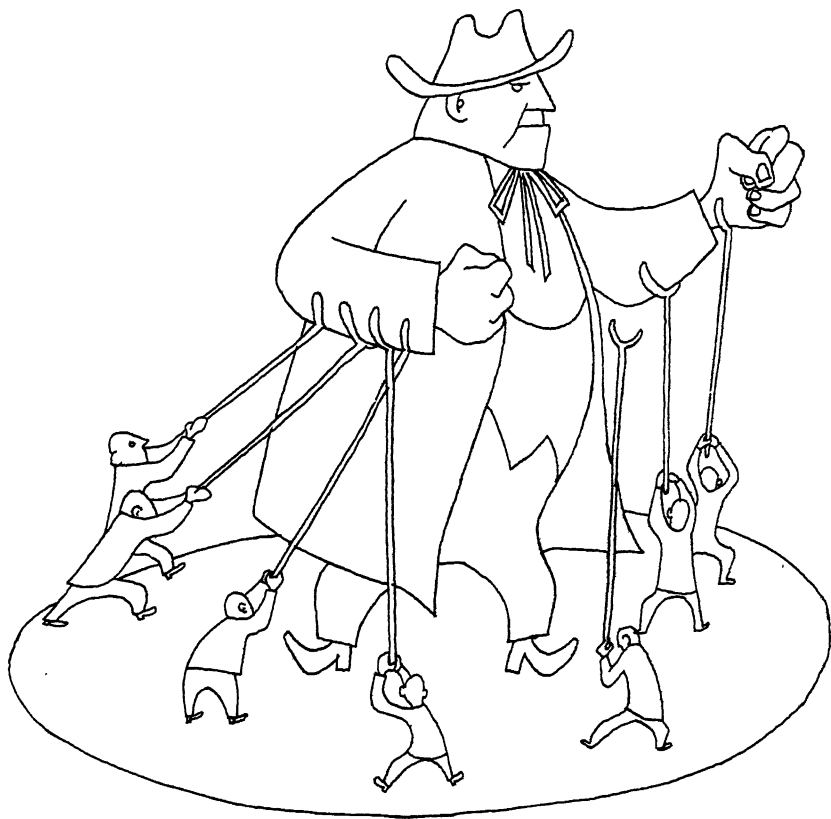
This is the starting point of all thought about the causes of war.

The government of any nation must put the interests of that nation first and before the interests of others. All governments see other governments doing this, and do the same.

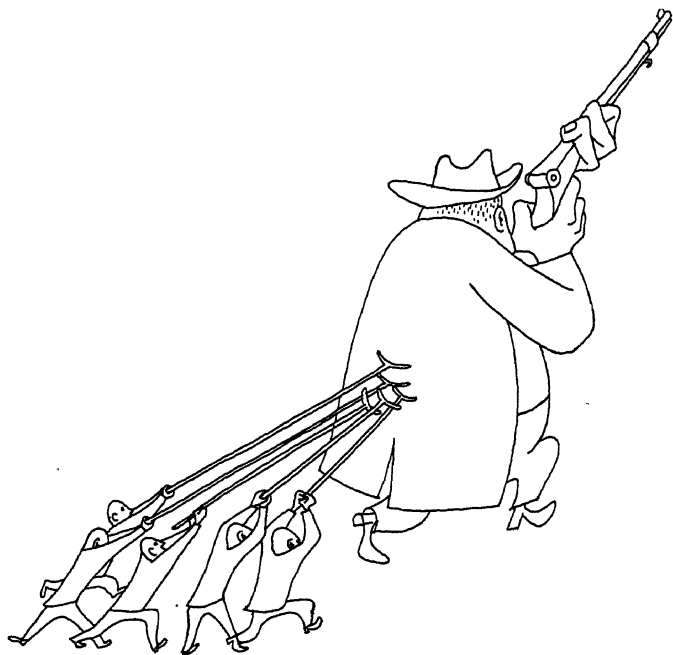
In doing this they commonly see themselves as acting for the good of all men. Every government when it goes to war says it is fighting for future peace.



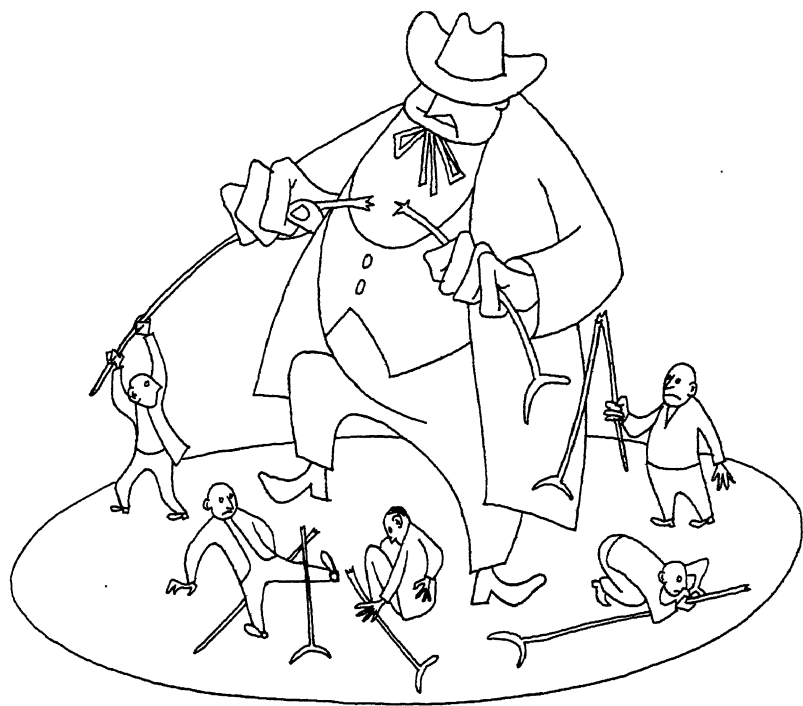
Inside every nation (even inside police-ruled nations) there are pressure groups which put their own interests before the interests of the nation. These groups are attempting all the time to put pressure on, or get control of, governments for their own purposes.



A pressure group in a nation may make its government go to war—as in Germany and Japan. It takes control of the government—secretly or openly. In some countries the chief pressure group is the army, or it may be some industry or trade group, or the believers in some religion.



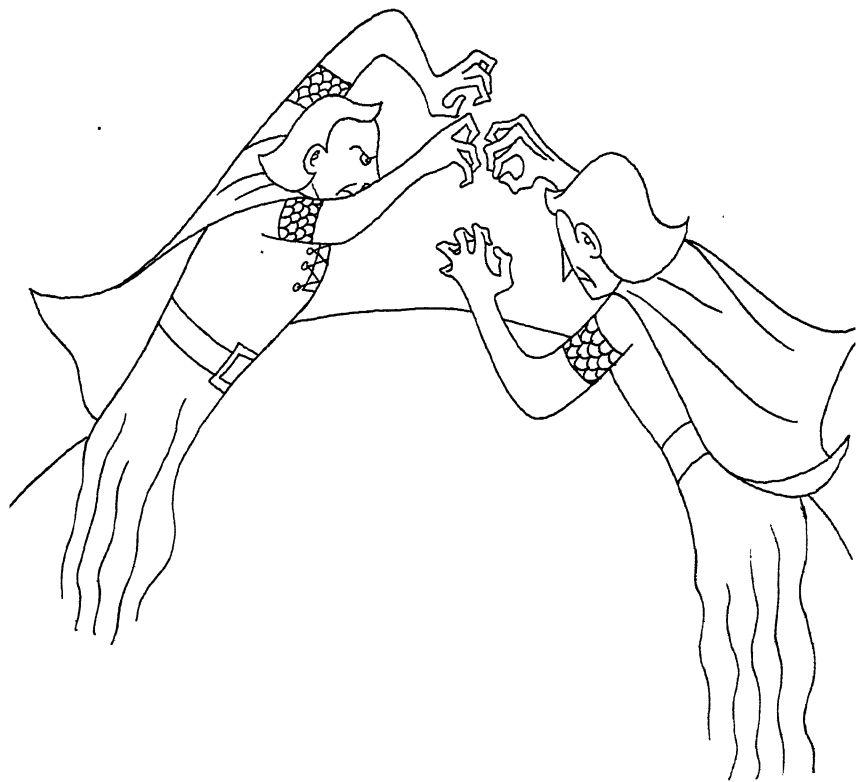
A good government is stronger than any pressure group inside the nation. It is able to keep any pressure group from getting its special interests put before the good of the nation.



The greatest of all pressure groups are the nations themselves. But there is no government over all the nations to keep them in their places. Two good governments, each acting for its nation's good, will each seem right in going to war. Each will be only attempting to keep its nation from destruction.



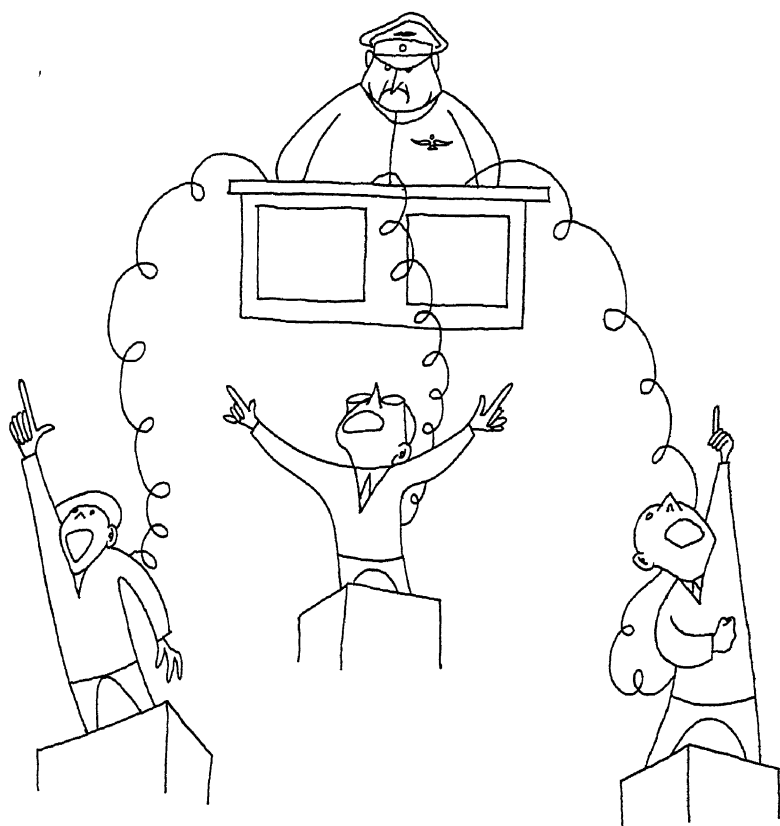
Why is this? It is because men's ideas about nations and their own interests are not clear enough. Nations exist only through men's unclear ideas of their own interests and of what it is right for good governments to do.



MY NATION, RIGHT OR WRONG!!

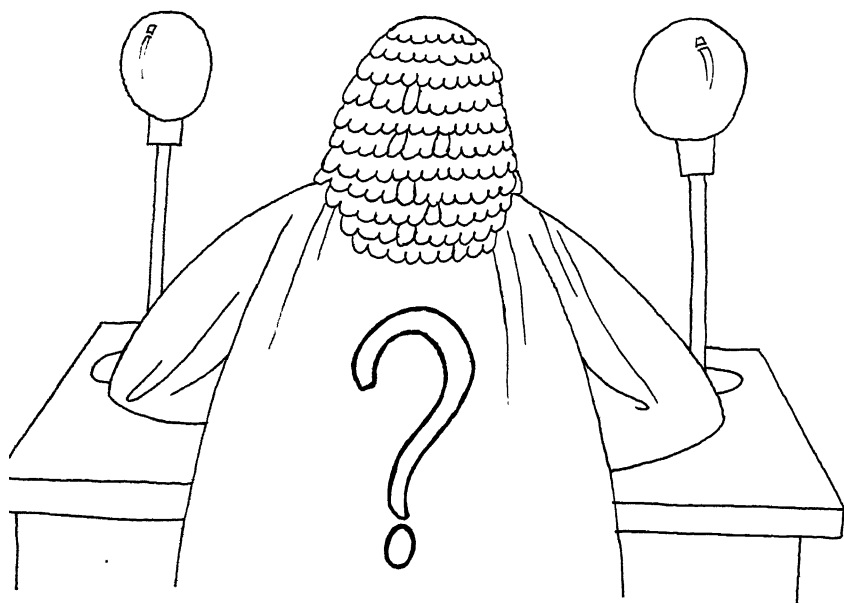


The chief change needed is a change in men's ideas of a nation. That is a change in **YOUR IDEAS** and the ideas of your friends. **ARE YOUR IDEAS, AT PRESENT, PART OF THE CAUSE OF WAR?**

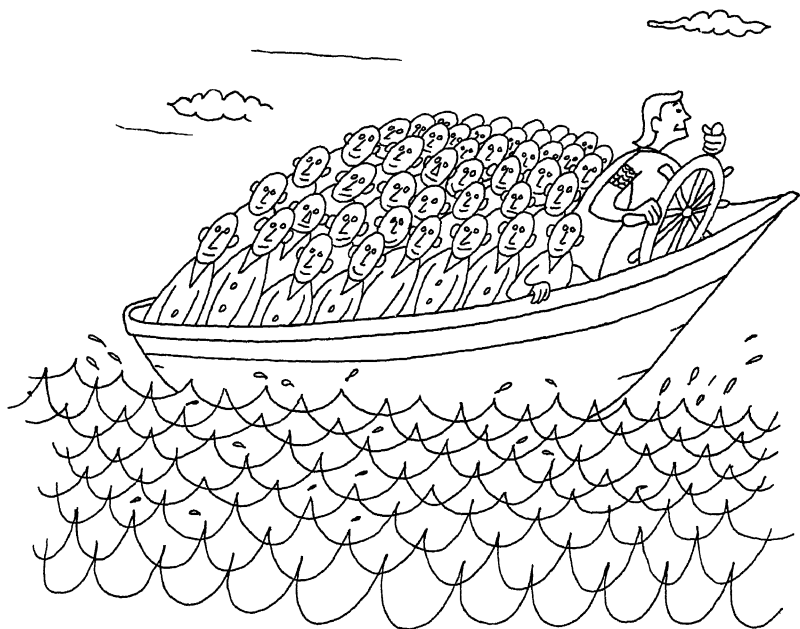


Frequently a war of ideas opens the way to a military war. Wars of ideas today are going on everywhere. Most of those taking part in them are unconscious of the fact that they are fighting—with ideas, not guns.

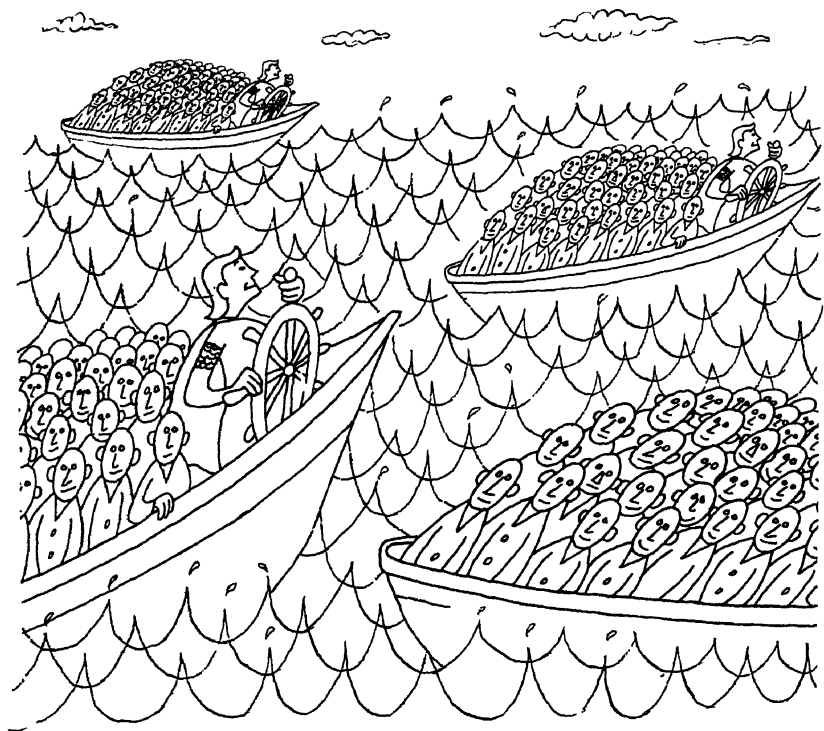
Most political discussion is not war. It is only war when its purpose is to open the way to the use of force. This discussion in this book of the idea of a nation is not a form of war. Its purpose is to help Law to do what force has never done.



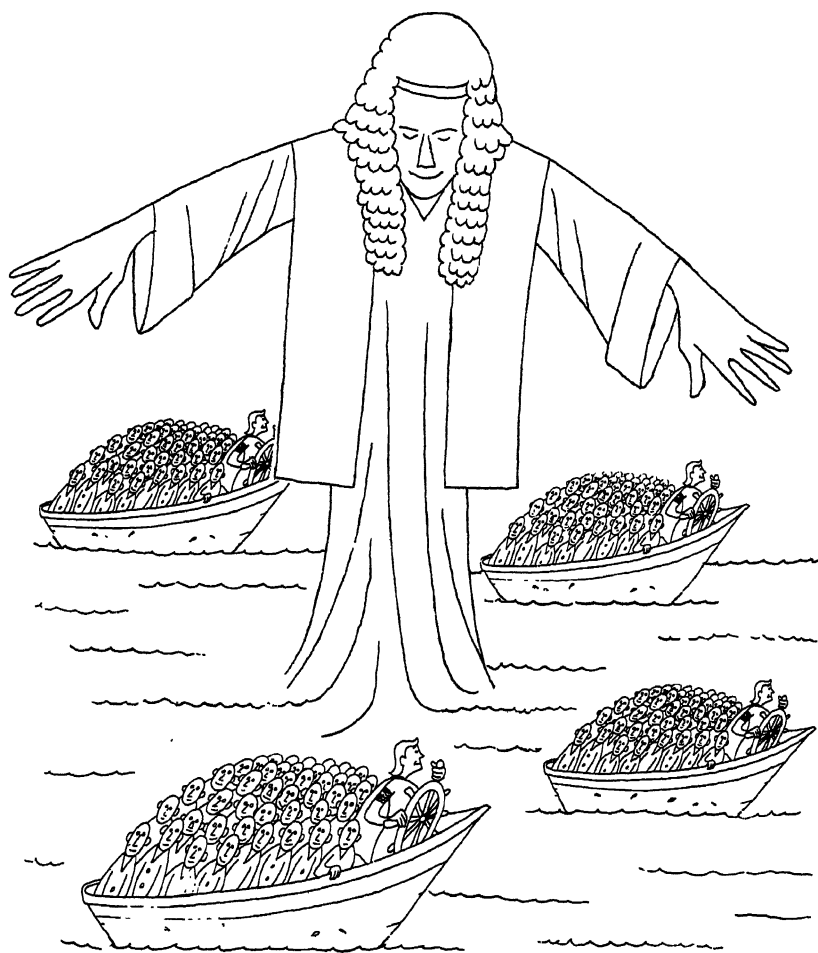
WHAT CHANGES IN OUR IDEAS OF A NATION ARE NEEDED?



No change is needed in the idea of a group of men, "all in the same boat," working together under a common government, helping one another because they have a history, ways of living, one language, one religion, maybe, and special interests in common.

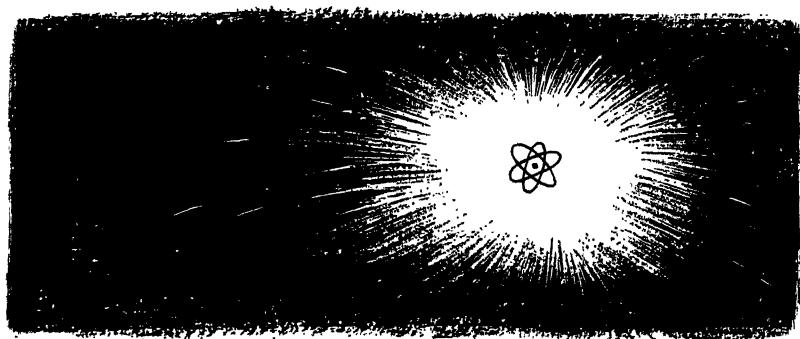


A nation is a way by which men have helped one another to better ways of living. At its best it has been their way of managing themselves for their common good, and the good of men in other nations as well. So far no change is needed.



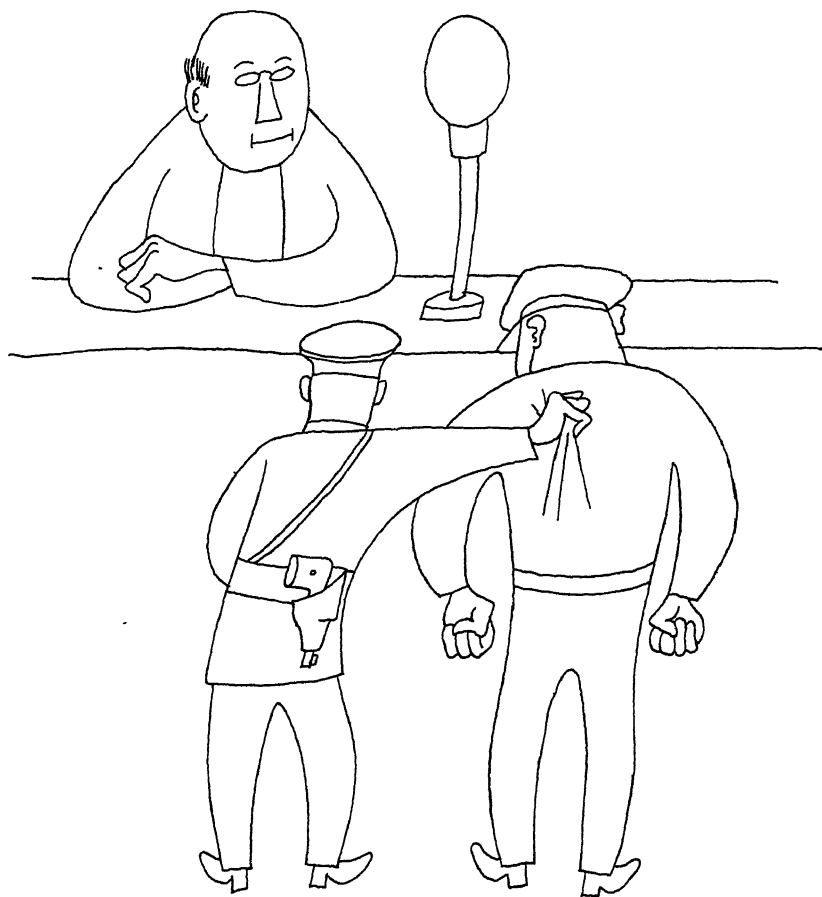
Under a world government nations would go on doing this-
managing themselves in their own ways.

The change needed is in the idea that a nation must take care of its own defense. IT MUST TODAY. Defense is necessary, and no other power takes care of it. Some new way of keeping all nations safe from attack is needed. This new way has come into man's hands with atomic power.



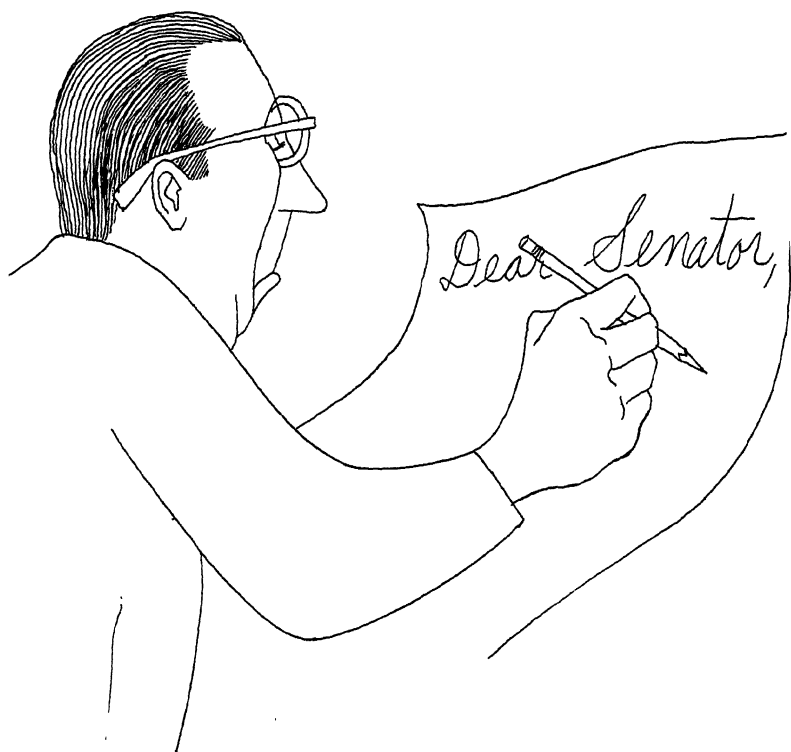
Brighter than eyes can look at.
The new star in the night of the nations.

How is it to be used? Some other questions come before this. What keeps men and groups *inside* a nation from war with one another? The answer is, "Government under Law backed up by a police." A police which is the servant of the PEOPLE—not the instrument of a self-supporting government.



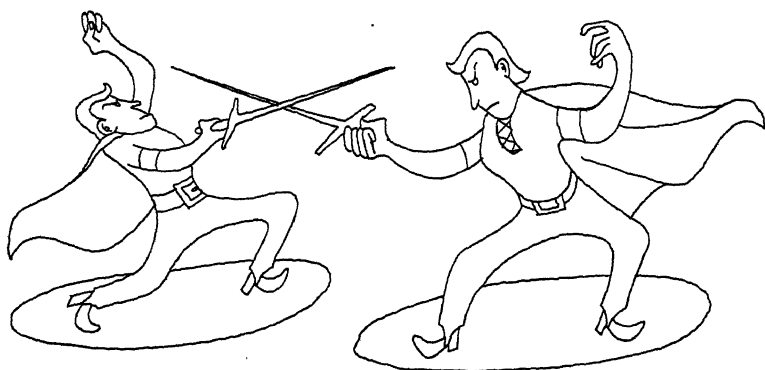


Inside a nation under good government, men go to Law not to War. They have to. The use of force is kept for the police only, as servants of a Law made by the people.



The Law may not be right, but it may be changed—in a Democracy—by the people acting through its government.

Between or over the nations, there is no government and no judge and no police. For the nations there is no way of going to Law. There is no way of making them keep the Law. There is no way of changing the Law. For there is no Law to be changed.



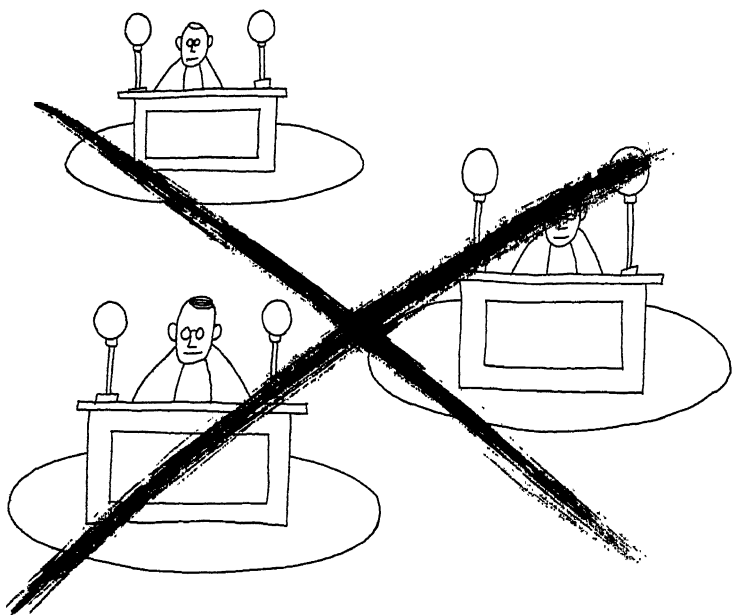
Can there be a Law and government and a police over all the nations—as the Law and government and police of a nation are over the men and groups in the nation? Why not? “Why not one world government?” That is the burning question of our time.

It is a burning question, because, if we do not answer it rightly, the fires of the atomic bomb are waiting for us.

Here are some reasons "Why not?" "Every nation, as a nation, is the only right judge of its own acts. Every nation, as a nation, is responsible to itself only for whatever it does." Are these good reasons or bad ones? Are these things true?



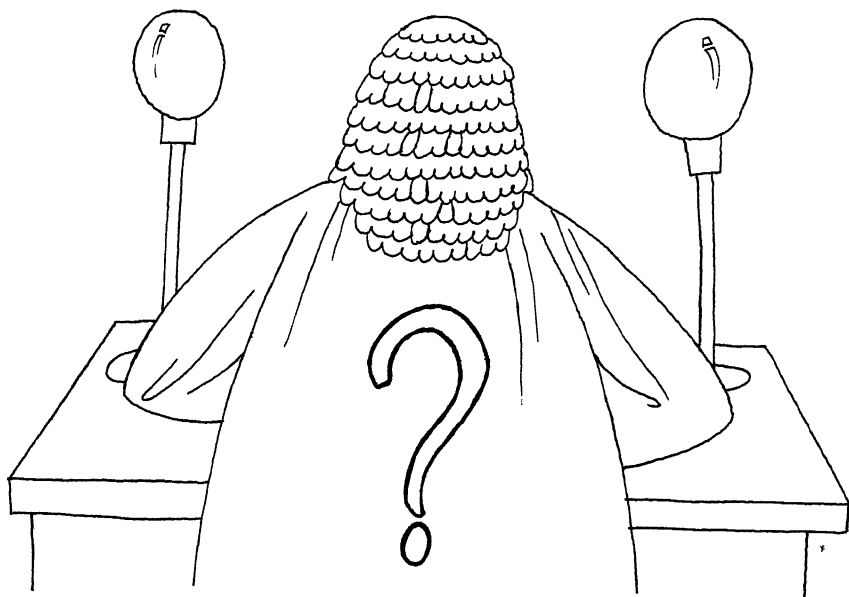
Today, they are true. Nations, AS NATIONS, will have to do these things. While there are nations these things will be so. Each will be its own judge and responsible to itself only for all that it does. BUT, IF SO, WHILE THERE ARE NATIONS THERE WILL BE WAR.



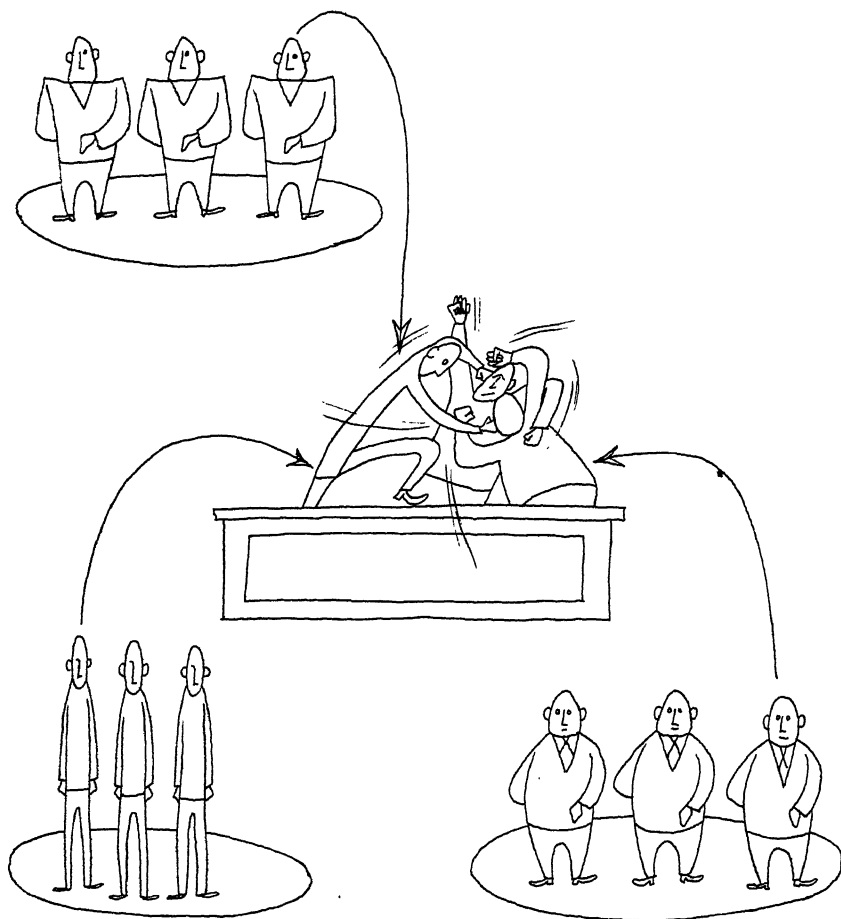
While there is one nation on earth judging for itself, there have to be other nations. The fact that *it* judges for *itself* makes *them* judge for *themselves*. They have to.

War is our payment for the fact that nations take care of their own defense. It is our payment for having no judge or Law between the nations.

Does a nation judge for itself because there is no higher judge? Or is there no higher judge because every nation judges for itself? What can judge between them? What can a higher judge be?



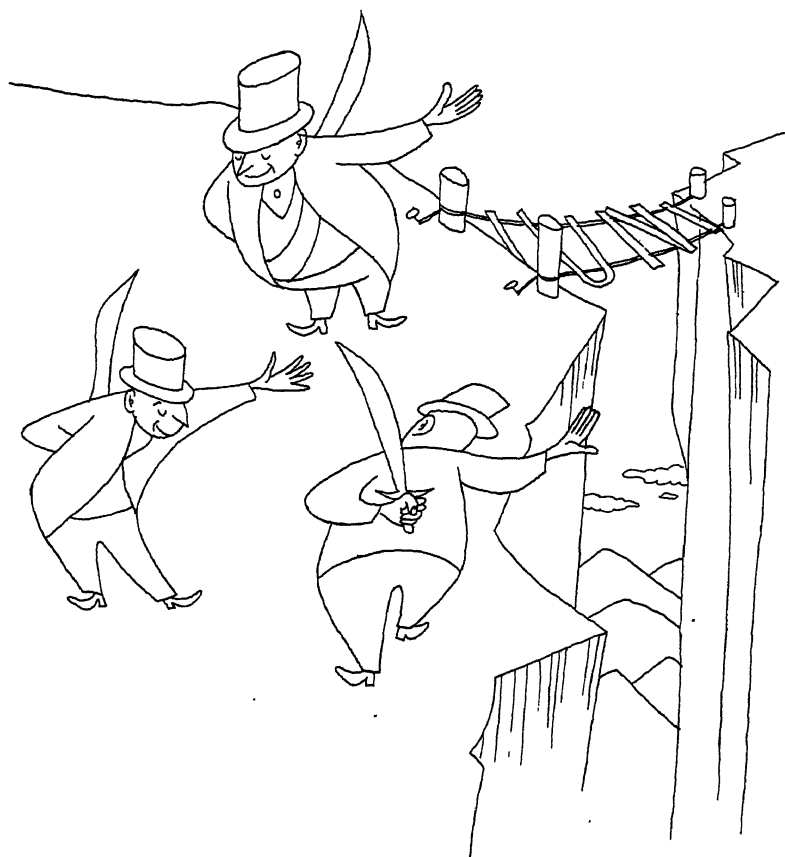
Can the rest of the nations acting together be the judge?
NOT IF THEY ARE ACTING AS NATIONS.

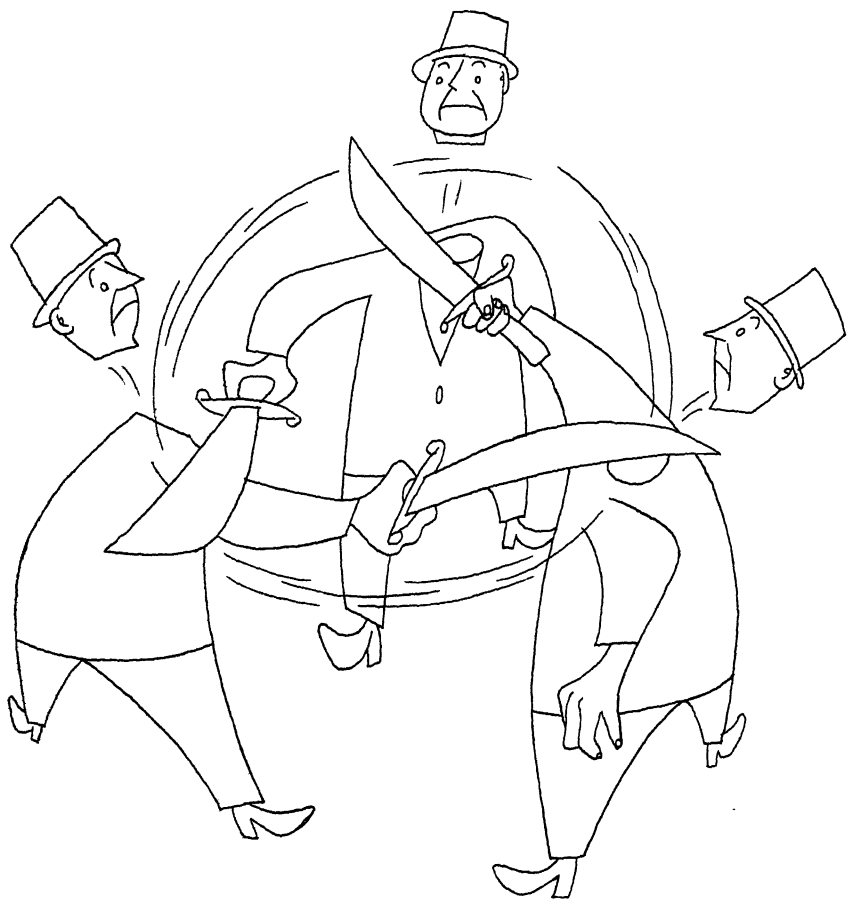


Nations, AS NATIONS, put their own narrow good first.
The good of all men everywhere comes later.

In the long view war is against the interests of all the
nations. All men know this.

But no government believes that all other governments will be guided by the long view. So they have to take a short view. They are guided by the interests of their country first. They believe, and rightly, that other governments will do the same. While one nation takes the short view, other nations must do the same.





So no nation is ready to put itself and its interests in the hands of the rest of the nations. It will only do so sometimes, when it believes that they will certainly be on its side. No independent nation will give up its power of acting as it sees best for its self-defense.

And while nations keep this power they will go on making war till the end. The end will be the destruction of us all. The wheel will have come full circle.

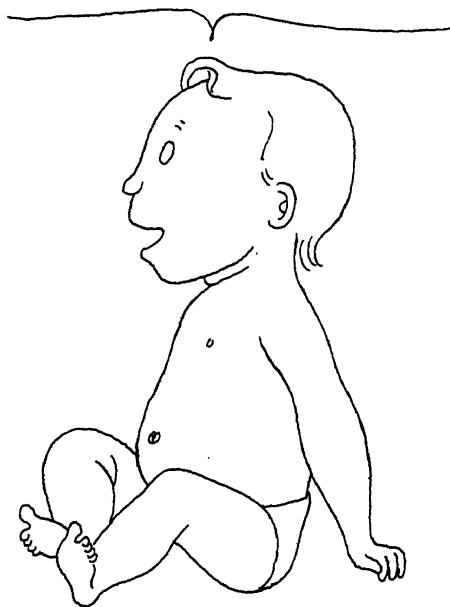
What we do to others will be done to us.



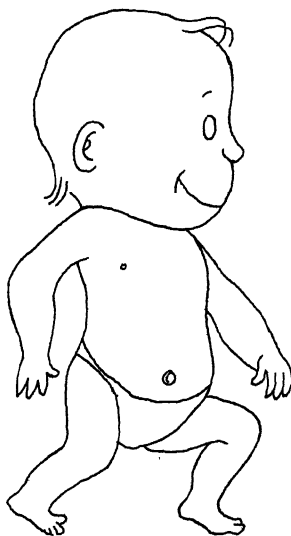
IS THERE NO WAY OUT? Is there no way of taking self-defense out of the power of separate nations and giving it, forever, to an over-all World Government? There are two ways. Thoughts of these two ways are in all our minds.

One is the way in which the present organization of the UNITED NATIONS might be a first step. A first step by itself is nothing. Without other steps it goes nowhere.

I'LL DO WHAT I
SAY I'LL DO!



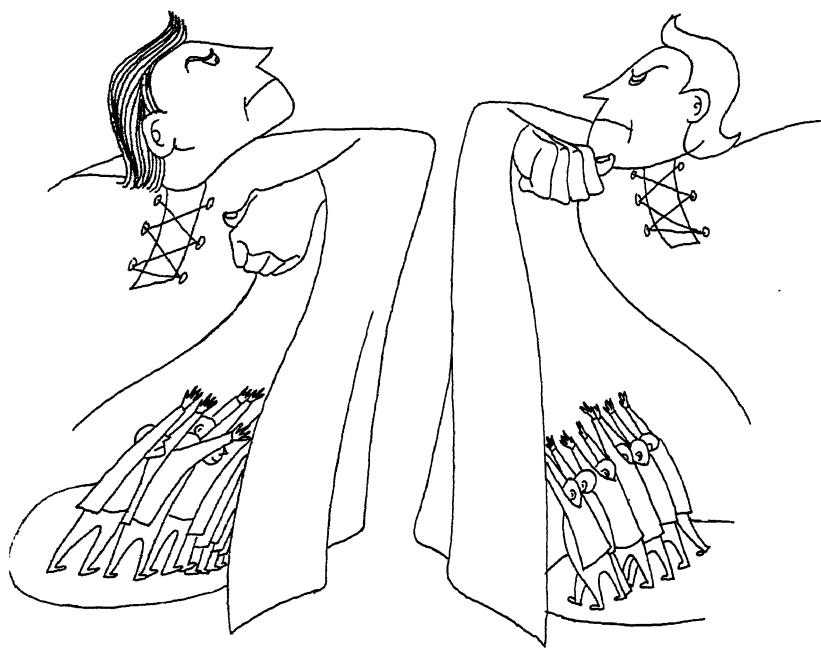
In this first step the nations have said they will put their defense in the hands of all the nations acting together.



They have *said* this, but are any of them, or all of them together, AS NATIONS, able to do it?

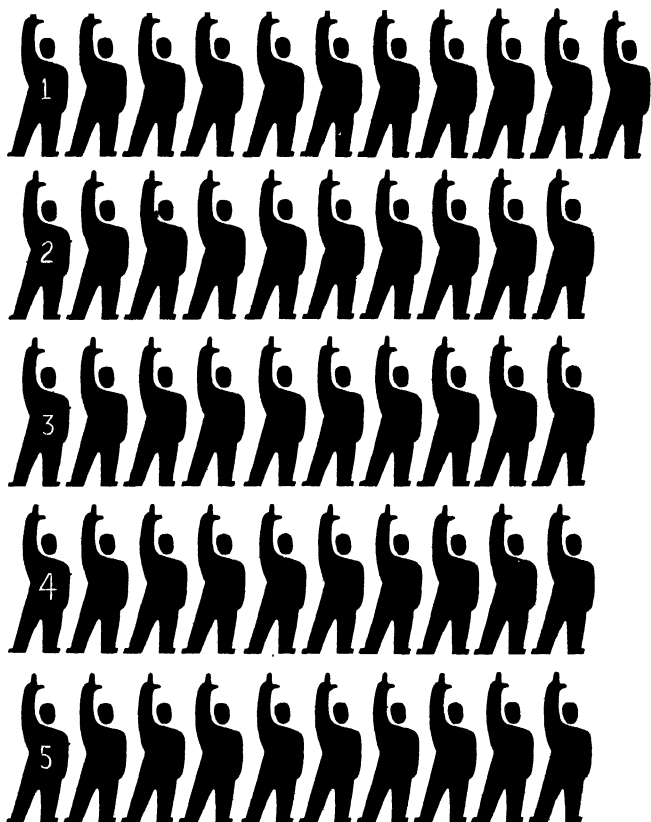
As PEOPLES, the men and women of all countries are becoming ready to do it. But AS NATIONS, acting through governments, they are not able to do it.

No government responsible for its people is able to do it. Its fears and doubts of other governments keep it back.

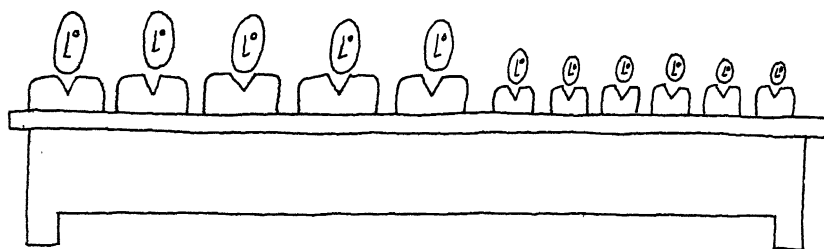


THE PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF THE UN IS
DESIGNED TO KEEP THE POWER OF SELF-
DEFENSE IN THE HANDS OF THE GREAT
NATIONS.

The chief parts of the UN are the General Assembly and the Security Council. All the nations of the UN are in the Assembly. Each of them—great or small—has ONE VOTE.



The Assembly's business is discussion and the making of suggestions. It has no powers to act to keep the peace.

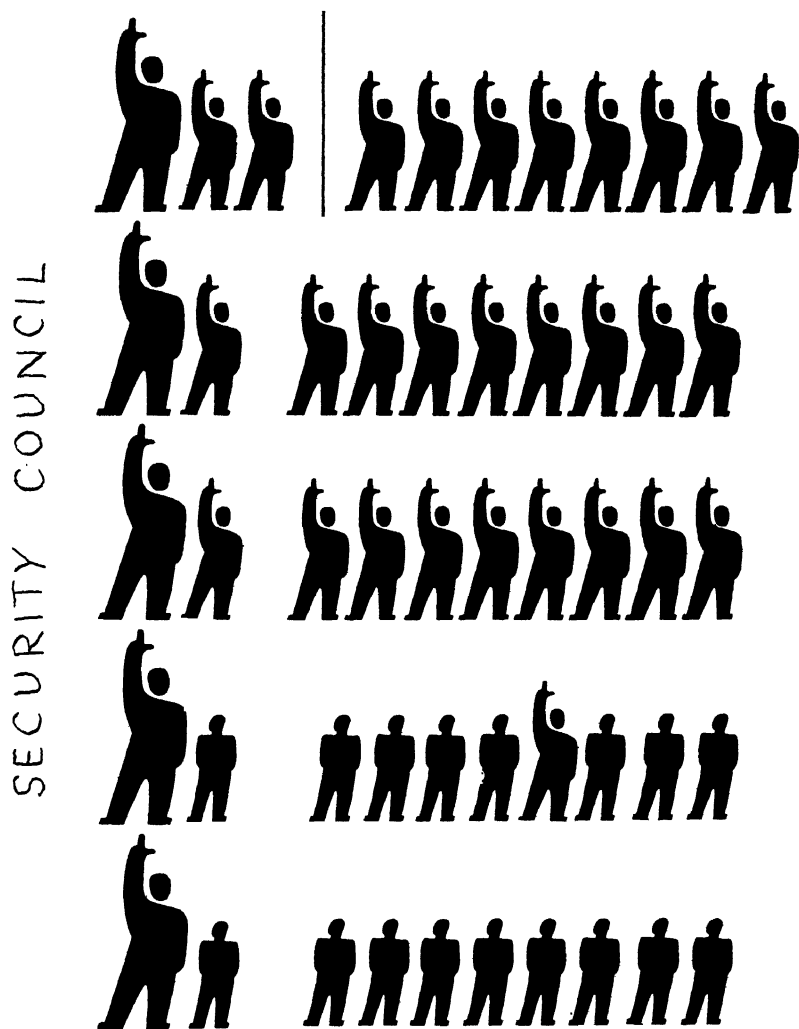


The Security Council is made up of eleven nations. Five of these are to be China, France, Britain, Russia, and the USA. The six others are voted to the Council by the Assembly, and change from time to time.



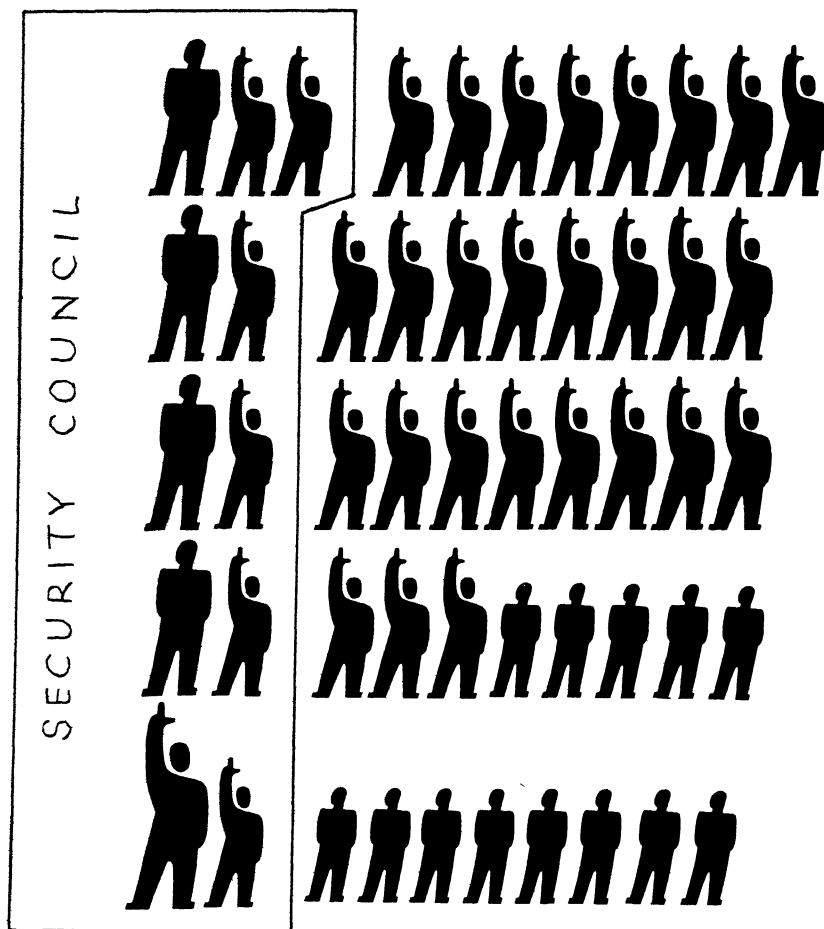
In theory, the Council has wide powers. It may use force—the forces of the nations. But it may only act if no one of the five says “NO.”

May the UN make changes in its organization?



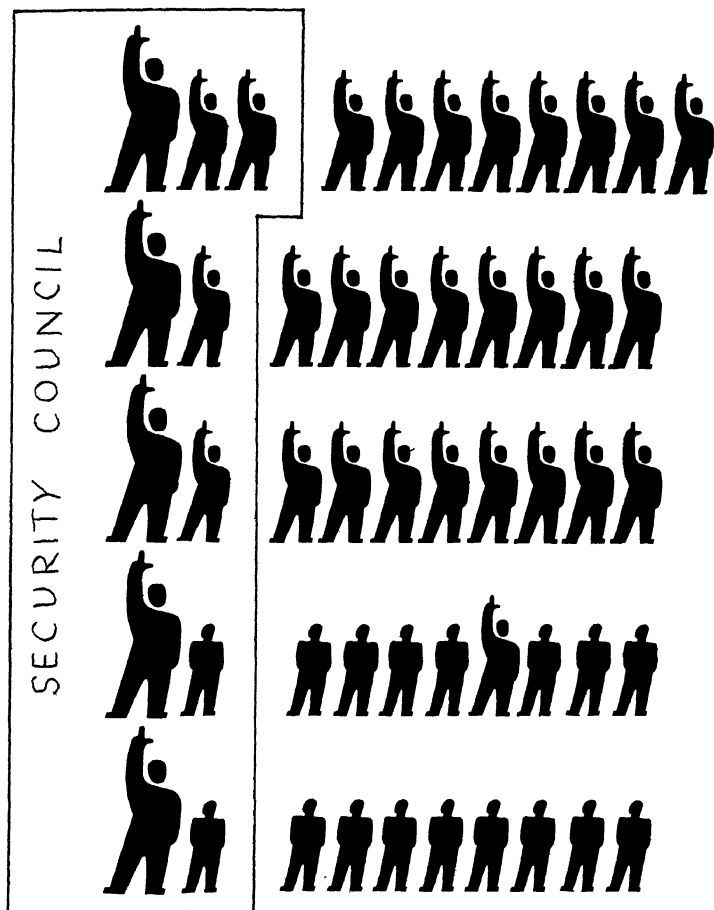
Yes—if two-thirds of the nations say “Yes,” and among them ALL the great five.

There may be a General Meeting of the nations in the UN for the discussion of changes, if two-thirds of the Assembly are for it *and* any seven of the Security Council.



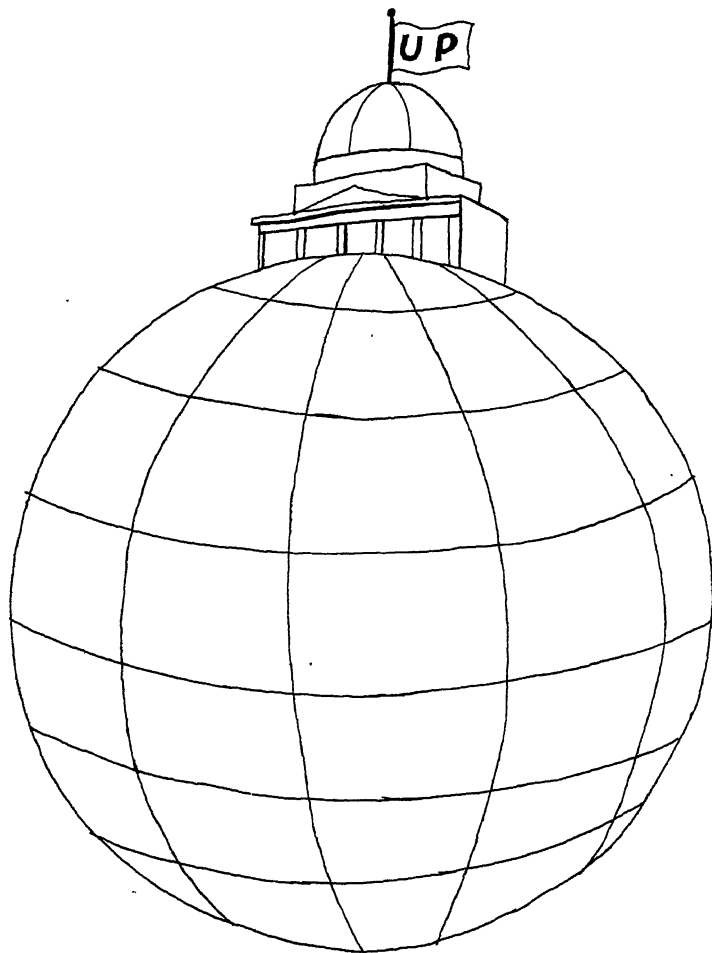
Changes voted by two-thirds of such a General Meeting will take effect if two-thirds of the governments say "Yes," and among them *ALL* the great five.

After ten years, if not before, such a General Meeting is to take place— if more than half the Assembly and any seven of the Security Council vote for it.



Changes, then, in the organization of the UN can only take place by the agreement of ALL the great five. But a General Meeting for the discussion of such changes is possible without that.

Is another step possible which would put the defense of all countries in the hands of the PEOPLES of the earth?



Can we make the UN into a UP—a United Peoples' Government?

Can we put defense in the hands of a World Government responsible to and representative of the PEOPLES, not the governments, of the world?

HOW MIGHT THIS BE DONE?

By making the Assembly of the UN a body of men and women voted to it directly by the peoples. And by giving to this Assembly the powers needed for the defense of all countries.



At first the voting to this body would be under the control of the governments of the nations. Later this voting would be under the control of the Assembly itself. From then on the World Government would be responsible directly to the peoples.

The basic powers needed for the general defense would be:

1. Power to make the Law which says what men and groups may and may not do to others.
2. Power to make all men and governments keep these laws.
3. All other powers needed for the full use of these powers.

For example: power to get at all necessary facts; and to make judges who will say, when there is doubt, what the Law is and when it is being broken.

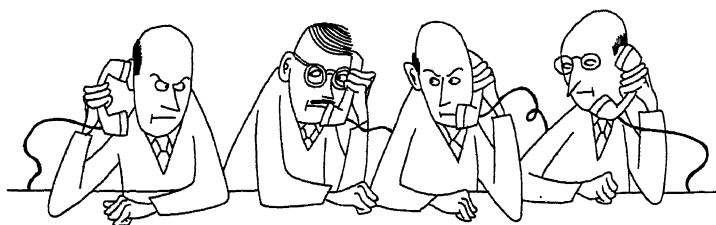


That would be one way of taking self-defense out of the hands of the nations. By changing the UN to make the Assembly into a World Government responsible to all men and women—not to their governments—this might be done. BUT THE UN AT PRESENT IS NOTHING OF THIS SORT.



The UN, at present, is only a common meeting place where the pressures of the separate nations come up against one another. It has no power to make Law. It has no power to make any nation, or men in any nation, keep the Law. It has no police.

The UN has no force at present but the forces of the nations in it. Each has separate control over its own forces.



All have said they will not use them on one another without the order of the UN. But what men and governments have said has never fixed what they will do.

These nations have in common their fear of another war. But this fear is different for each. For each it is a fear of what some different nation or group of nations may do. Statements made in common are no defense against these fears.



NO NATION IS SAFER, AT PRESENT, THAN IT
WOULD BE WITHOUT THE UN.

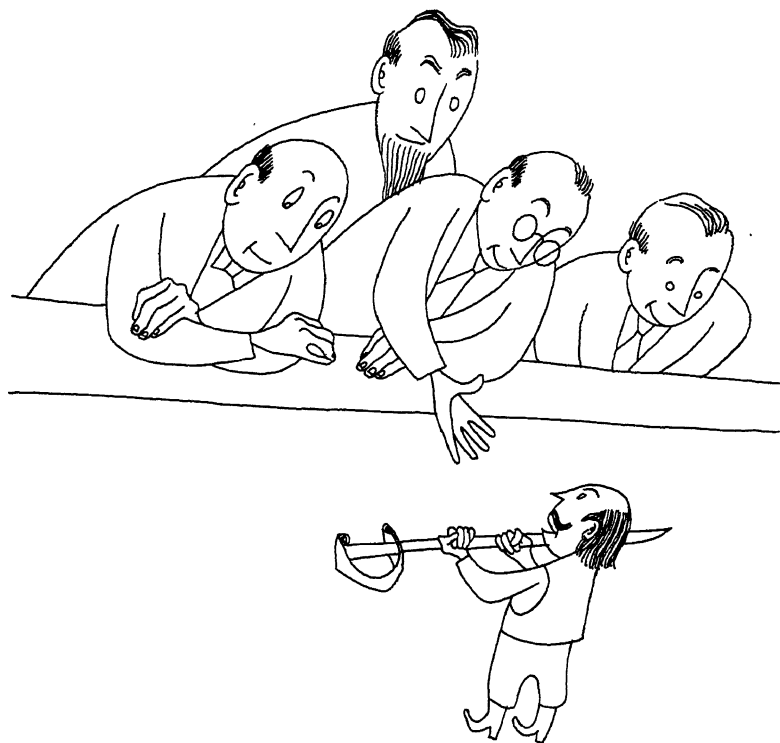
Will these fears be strong enough to make the nations take the GREAT STEP?

THE GREAT STEP IS TO GIVE THE UN POWER TO KEEP US ALL SAFE.

What would make the nations do this? Only wide enough knowledge, in millions of minds, in all countries, that WAR will come if they don't. And wide enough knowledge of what that WAR will be like. This book is part of the attempt to make these things more widely known.

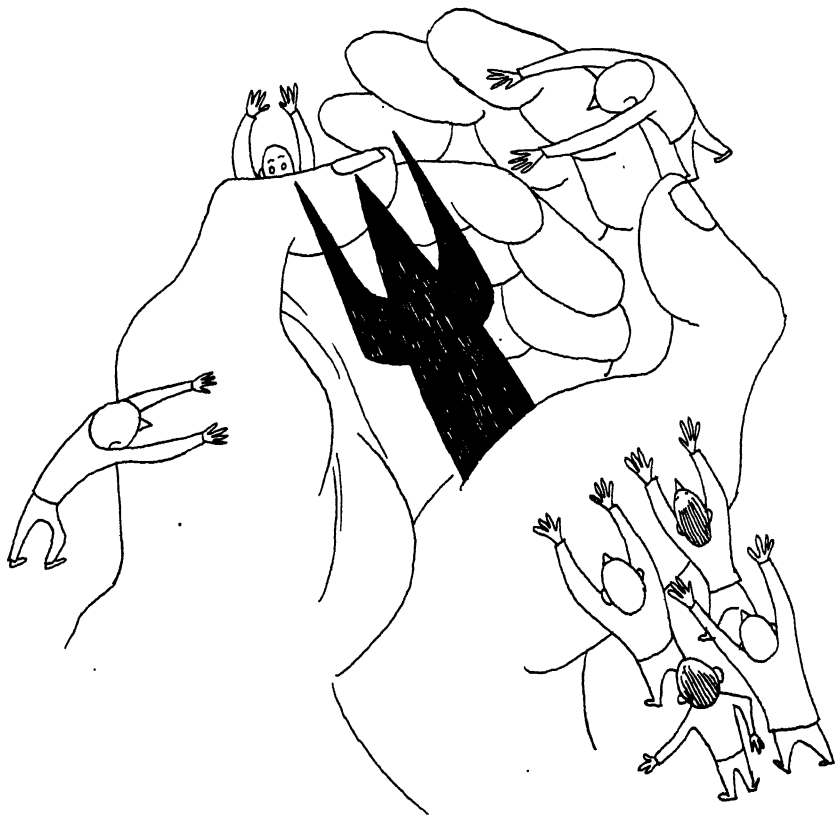
When enough people in a country know these things, they must make their government act. Their government must say to the UN, “We are ready to give enough power to the Assembly to keep us all safe. Which other nations are ready as well?” When the other nations answer, the GREAT STEP will be started. It will not be made, but it will be started. Their answers will let us all see better where we are, and which nations are attempting what.

The first people and government to say this to the UN might well be one of the little nations. Or a group of them might do it together, as a way of testing the great ones. Then would come a long discussion of the powers to be given to the Assembly.



All this would be part of the taking of the GREAT STEP.

The powers given to the Assembly must be enough to keep us all safe. Chief among them must be control of the atomic bomb and of all processes for making it.



At present any authority which has control of the Bomb has the force needed for government over all nations.

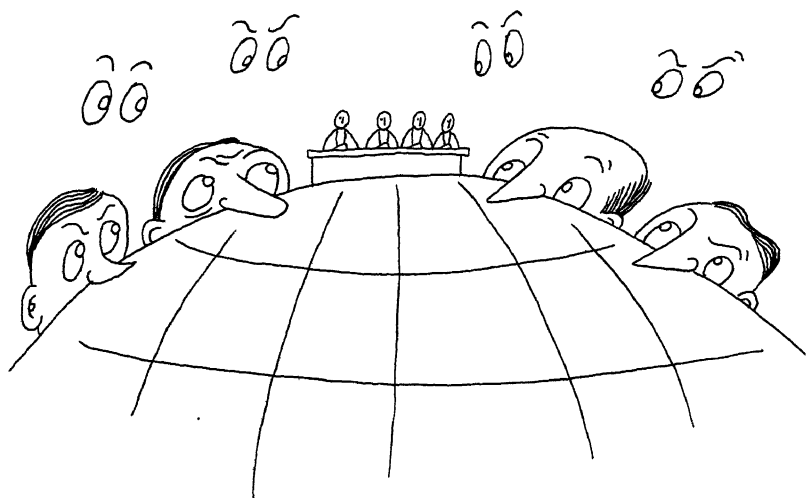


The only authority to which such force can safely be given is a law-making, peace-keeping body dependent on the votes of the people of the earth—a body responsible to them and able to be changed by them. The law-making, peace-keeping powers given to this authority will be what the people of the earth let it have.



There will be a group desiring “wider powers” and an opposite “narrower powers” group. These might be the first parties of the new Assembly.

But talk now about the detail of these powers is waste of time. Though the Assembly will control the Bomb—and, through it, the war-making of the nations—the peoples will control the Assembly. These powers will be the peoples' to give and to take away.

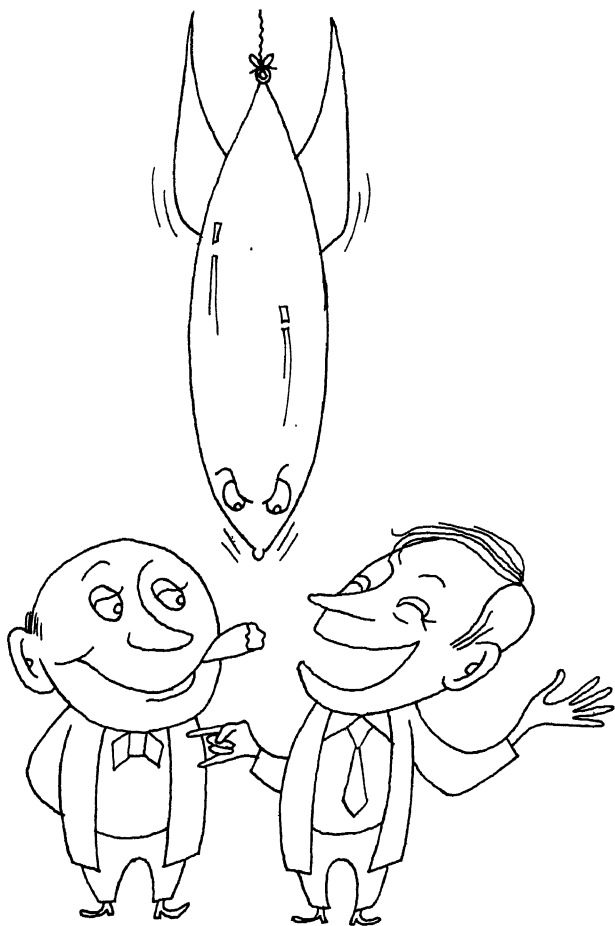


This World Government will be watched more than any nation's government was ever watched.

What keeps the nations back today from taking the GREAT STEP?

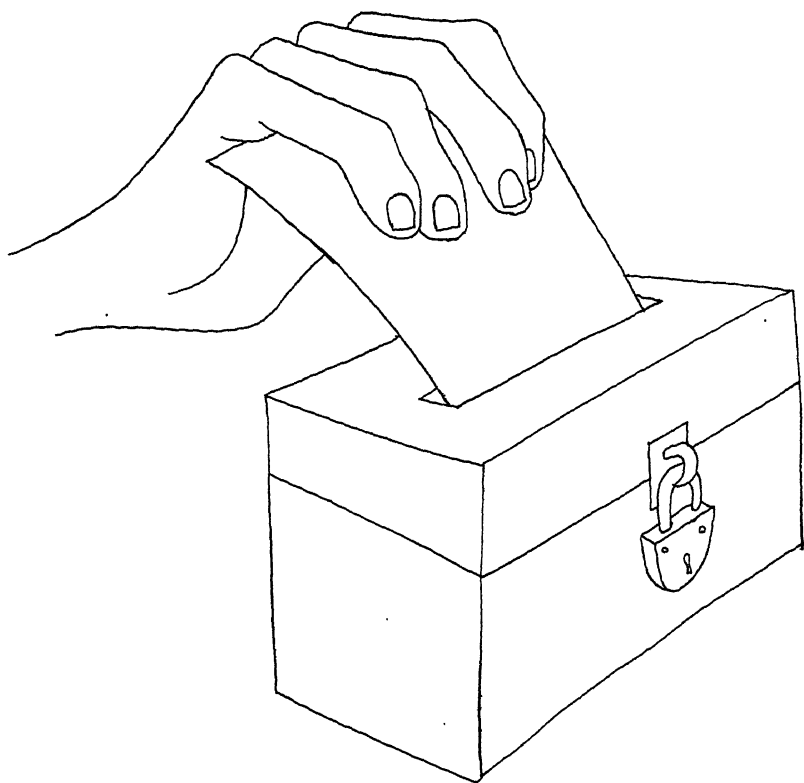
Four things chiefly:

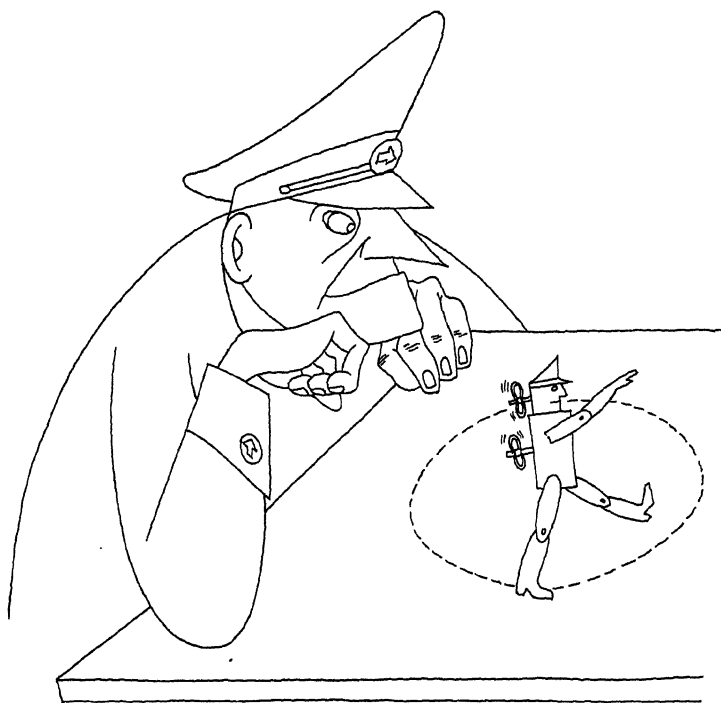
1. The idea of this Step—as something to be taken now, before the Atomic and Bacteria War starts—is new and strange and far-off to most men.



It is something to be talked about, not to be taken right away.

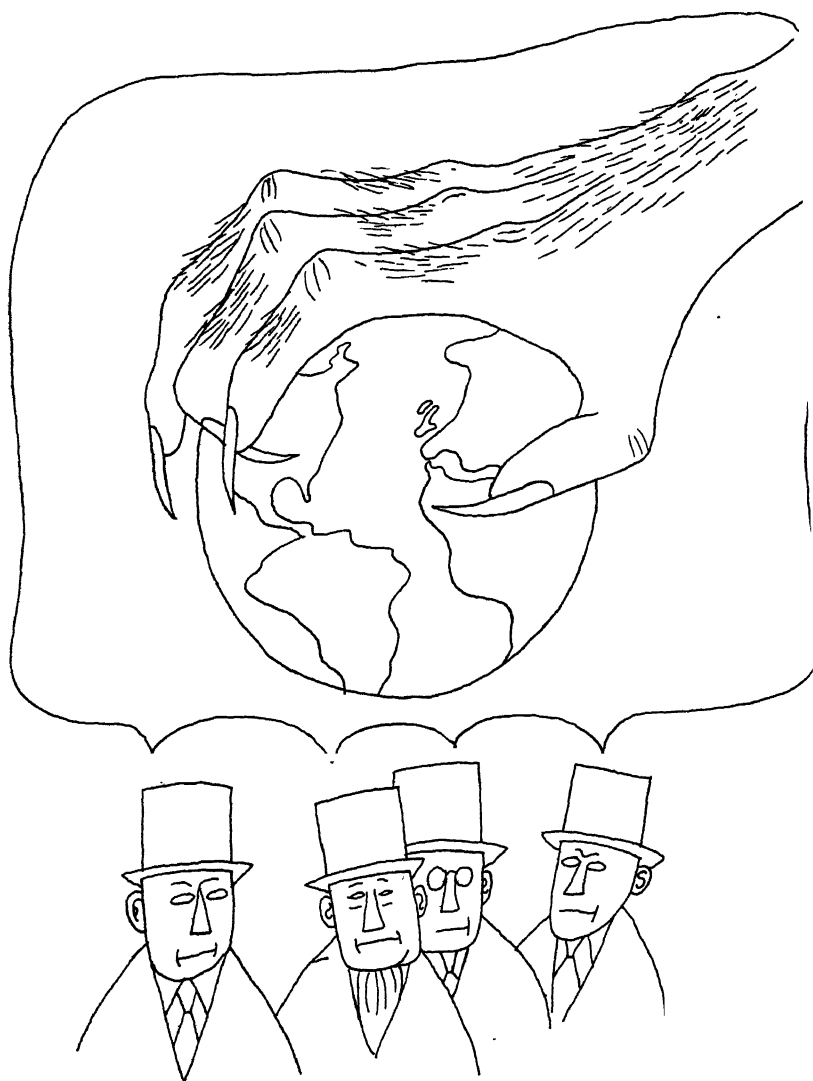
2. Most governments fear that the Assembly might become the instrument of some other nation or group of nations. Their fears and doubts of other nations get in the way. They see the other nations as doing what they themselves might hope to do. But an Assembly voted for by people, not nations, could not become the instrument of any one nation or of any group of nations united against one.





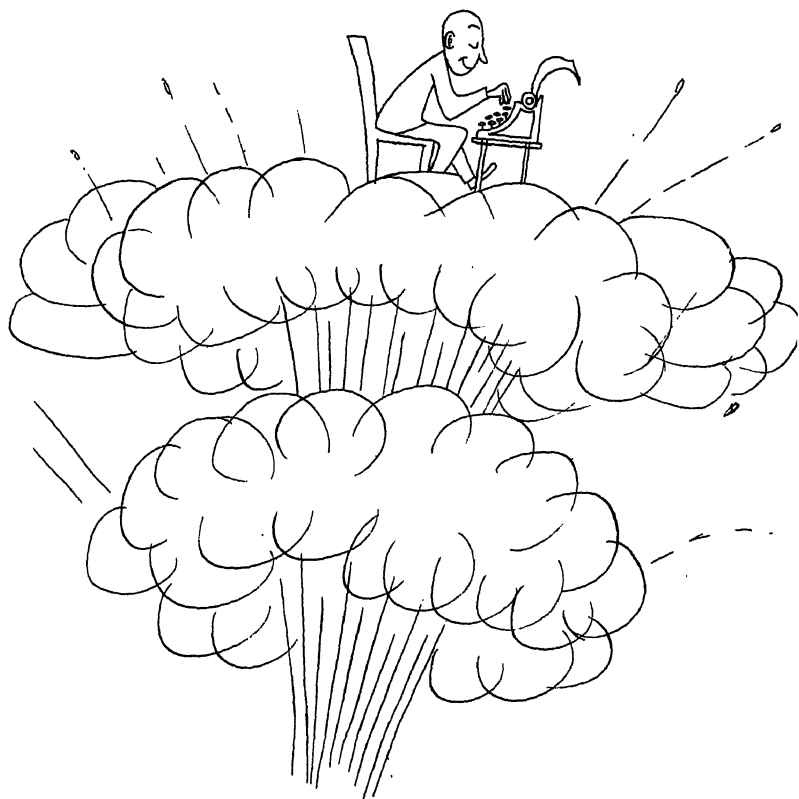
3. High military officers and experts are commonly so interested in war that their minds cannot take in the idea that it could be ended—forever.

They are responsible, moreover, for keeping us ready for war. Ending war is not their business.



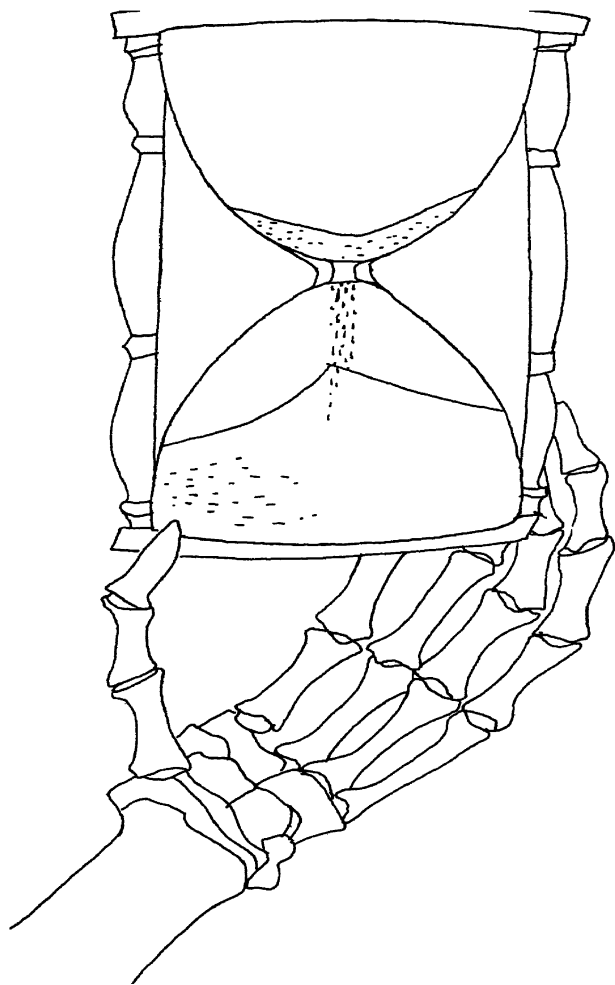
4. The great nations believe that there are groups designing to do what Germany and Japan attempted—to take over world government by force of arms.

In governments and out of them, men, if possible, do as the have done in the past.



Even the greatest changes will not make us suddenly take to new ways—if we don't have to. WE HAVE TO NOW.

THE SANDS ARE RUNNING OUT.



Men will not take oncoming destruction seriously—seriously enough to do something about it—till it is very near. We do not see how near the end we are. Month after month we go on talking as if the Bomb were like other bombs and the coming war no different from other wars, as if the danger were not increasing every hour, and as if the existence of nations—the root it grows from—could not be changed.



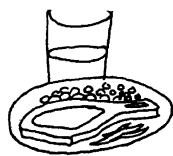
Again and again in the past men have changed their political structures—when they had to. As the nation gave peace to warring princes . . .



. . . so World. Government will give peace to warring nations.

If the PEOPLE of the earth see this clearly, if they see what has to be done and how to do it, the GOVERNMENTS of the nations will be forced to it—joining up all together or in groups.

On the other hand, governments now have these great new powers of controlling the minds of their peoples. As war comes nearer, as pressure from within and from without grows greater, they will use these powers. The facts of the Bomb itself will make more and more control necessary.



WHAT MAY BE CONTROLLED?

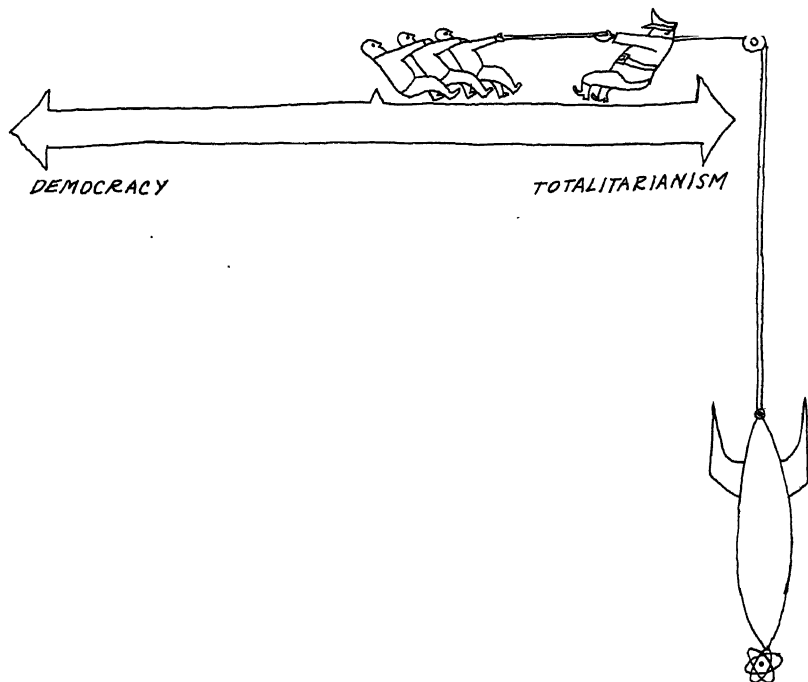
Clean food
and water

Healthy living
and working
conditions

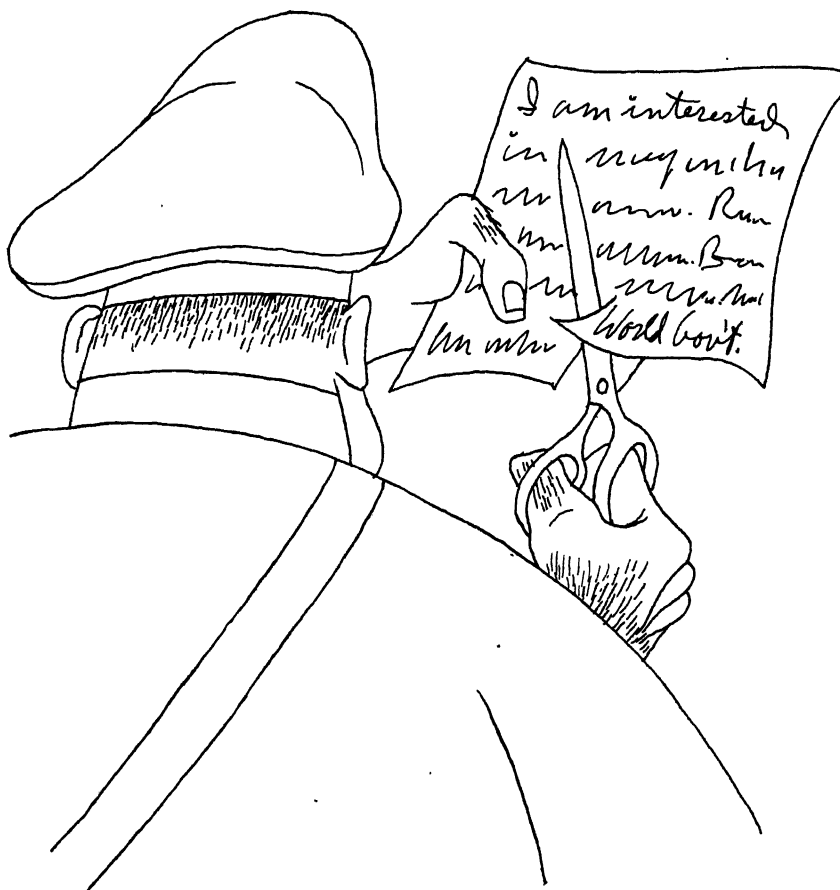
Business,
money, and
profits

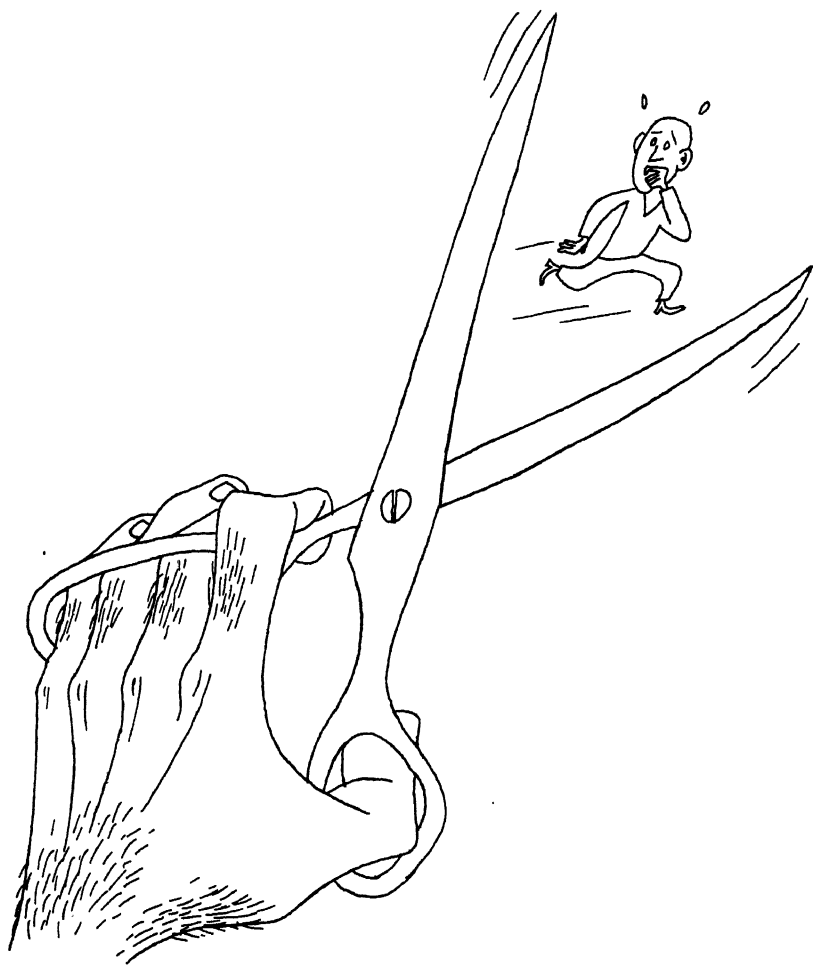
Feelings,
desires,
theories,
and beliefs

All peoples, through their governments, control some of these things. The great question is: When does this control take all power from the people—handing it over to a *self-supporting* government which the people can no longer change? The Bomb may make all governments become police controls.



The control will not be only over what is in your bag in the parcel room at the station, but over what is in your mind as well. A war-fearing police will be on the defense against chain reactions between men's minds. No side of your existence will be free from this control, and talking or writing about World Government may be impossible before long. In some countries it is impossible now.

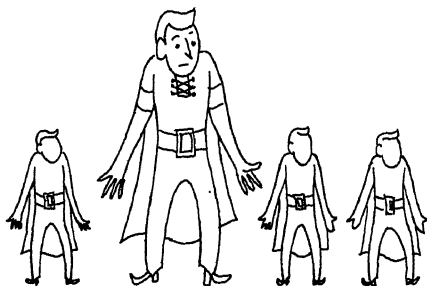




There is still time to keep all this from taking place. A little time—but not much. This is the strongest reason for making the GREAT STEP and giving the UN the needed power NOW.

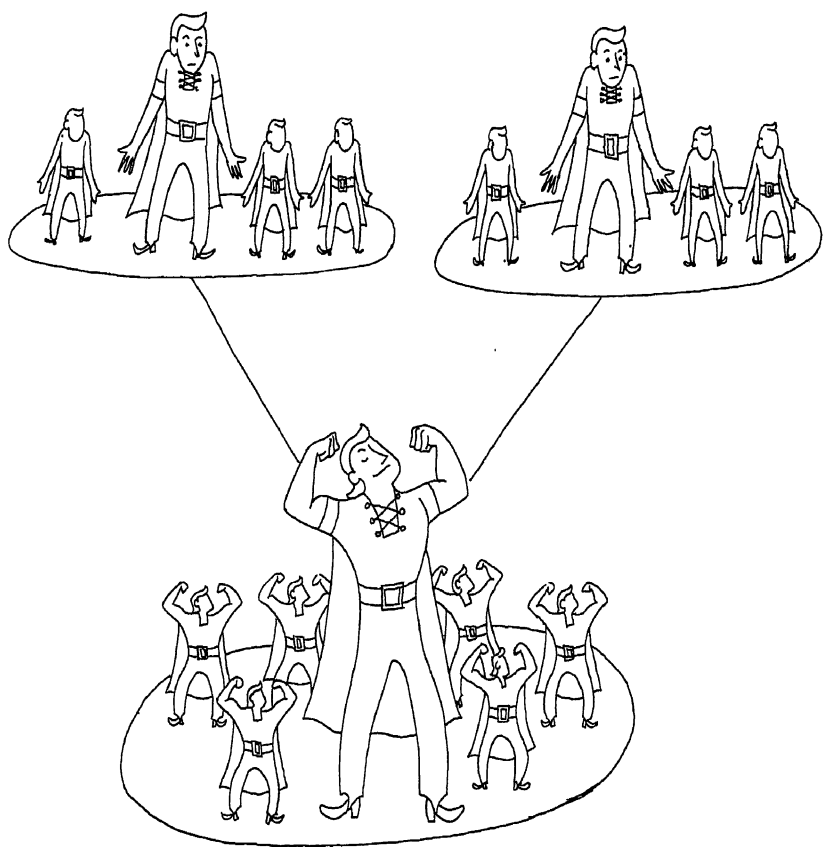
There are other strong reasons for doing this.

All men desire power.



Men of great nations feel they have more power than men of little nations. They feel greater themselves. Almost all men will support their government if it seems to be making their nation stronger. They feel they are becoming stronger themselves. *And they are right.*

Power comes from people. A nation's power is the power of the people in it. Today, it is limited by the power of other nations. The power of the greatest nation today is far less than half the power of all the peoples of the earth.

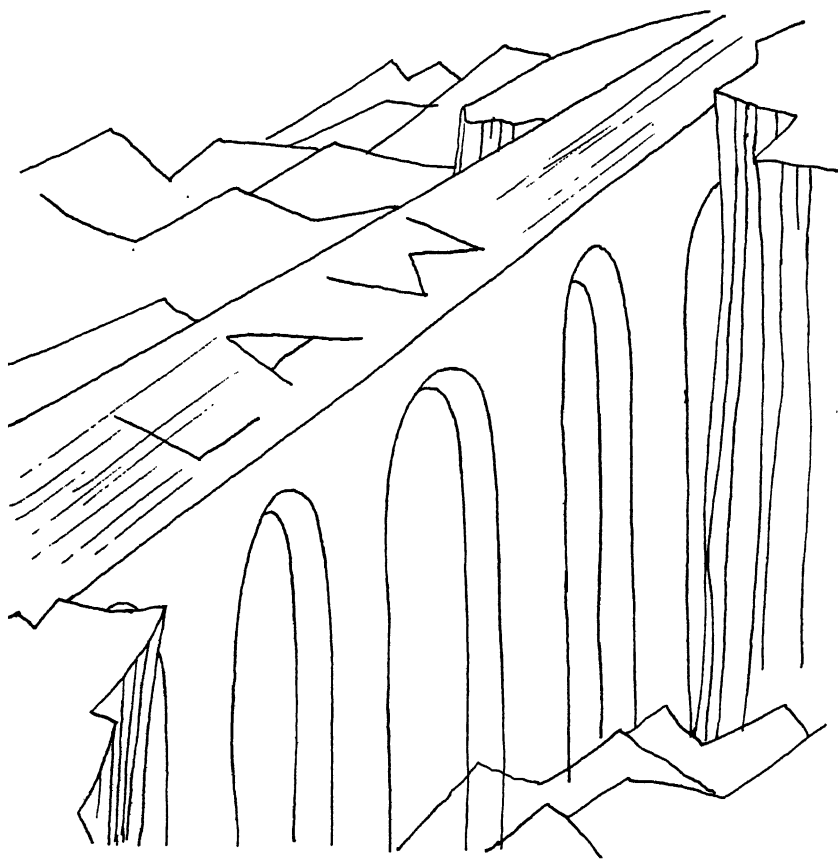


Joining together—truly uniting—is the only good way of becoming greater. Here are two nations. The men and women in them feel they have little power. They are open to attack from any greater nation. If the two nations became one with a common citizenship they would feel they had much more power. If *all* the nations became one their united power would have no limits.

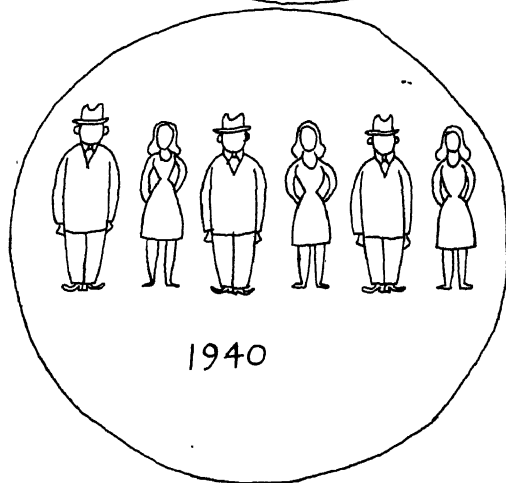
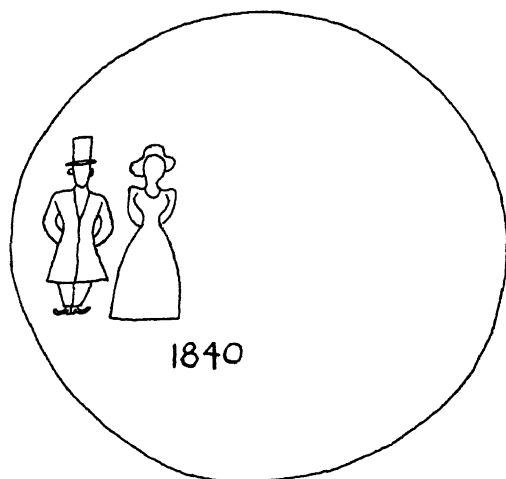
But some men say, "A United People of the earth would have the same troubles as the nations have at present." They are wrong. A United People (UP) would have what is needed for meeting them:

a way of making Law

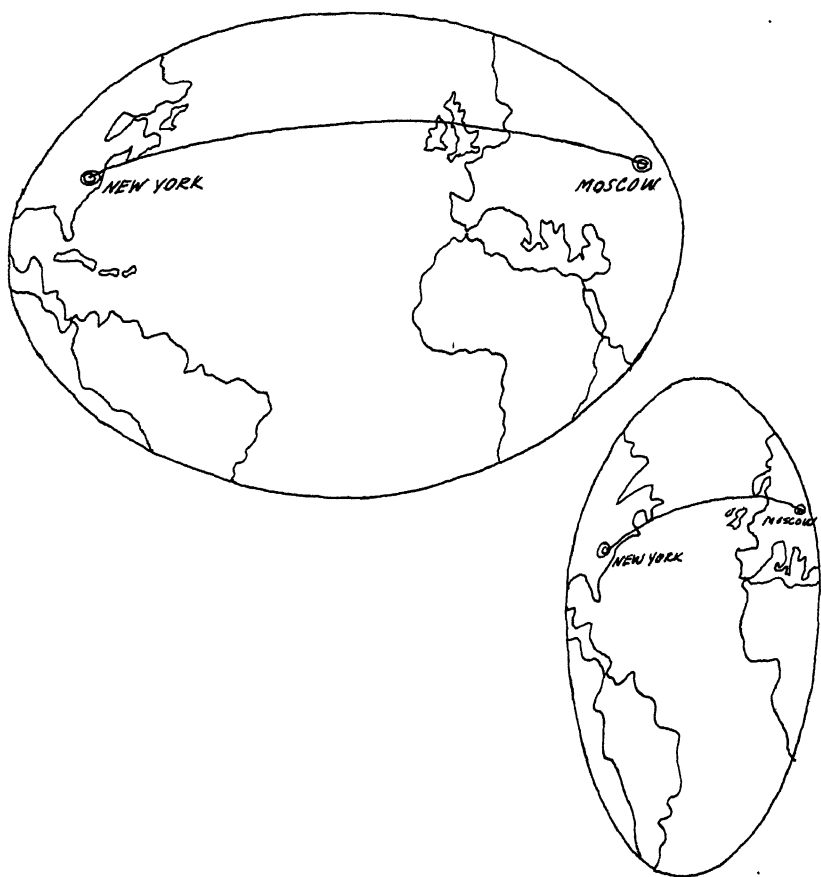
and a way of changing the Law as change is needed.



Change never comes to an end. All development, all growth, is a process of change. It is because of changes that we now have these greater and greater wars. Changes in our numbers on the earth: In 1840 there were about 700,000,000 of us. Now there are about 2,200,000,000 of us.



In 1800 the journey from New York to Boston took $4\frac{1}{2}$ days. Now it takes $1\frac{1}{3}$ hours.



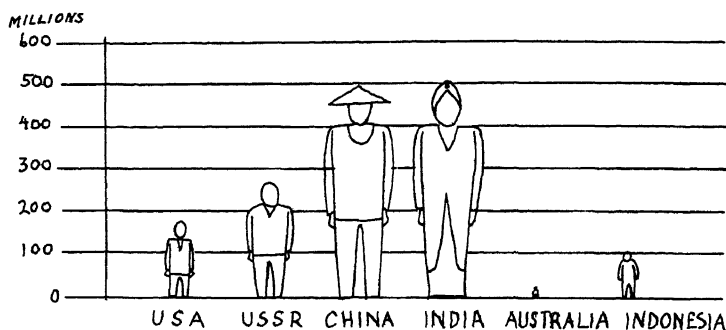
In 1800 sending something between Moscow and Washington took five weeks. Tomorrow it will take a top-secret number of minutes.

These are only some of the changes which have made World Government necessary. The pressure of the nations upon one another has become impossible.



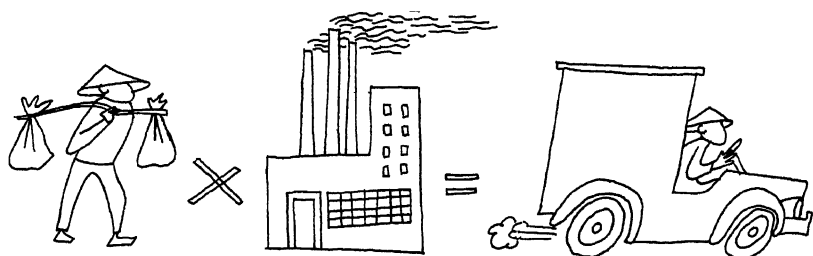
They have to go to war—not because their hearts are specially bad (they are as they have been, or better), but because they have no government under Law to take care of the changes needed.

These pressures of the nations on one another are getting worse all the time. Today there are about: 202 million people in the USSR; 140 million people in the USA; 420 million in China; 400 million in India; 75 million in Indonesia; 7 million in Australia.

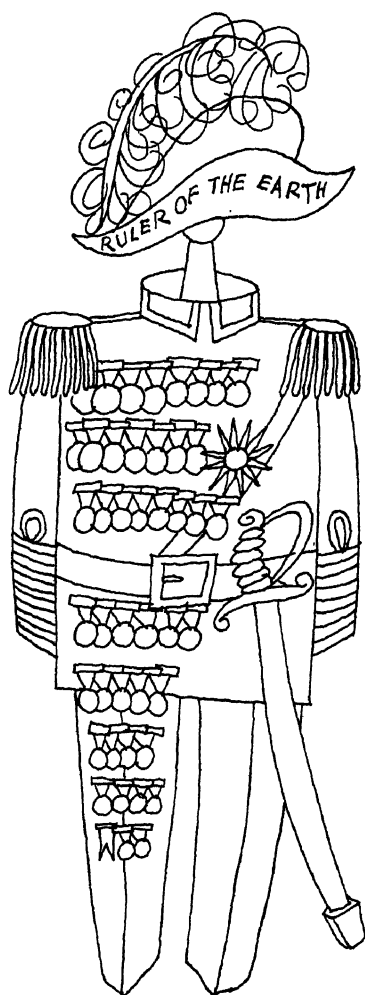


In 1970 there will probably be about 300 million in the USSR; 160 million in the USA; 500 million in China; 500 million in India; 100 million in Indonesia; at most 10 million in Australia.

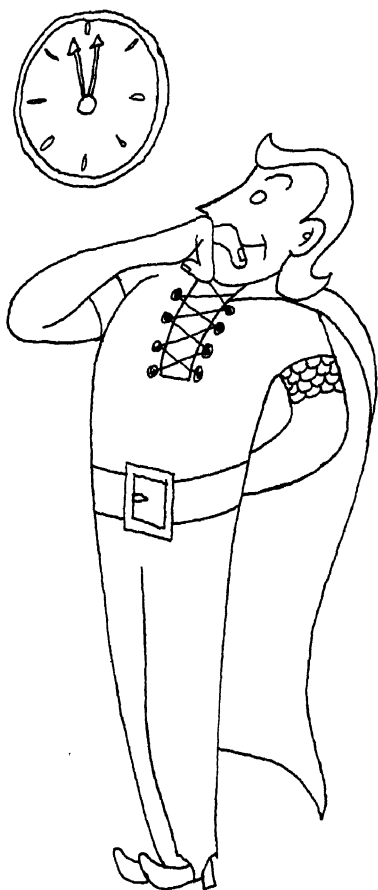
Other changes as outcomes are certainly coming.



War is as certainly the worst possible way of attempting to make (or keep back) these changes. Nations at present have no other way than War. Man on earth must have a World Government to see that needed changes take place under the control of Law.



There are two ways, we said, of getting a World Government. One is by giving enough power to UP to keep us all safe. That is the best way, but it is not the most probable way.



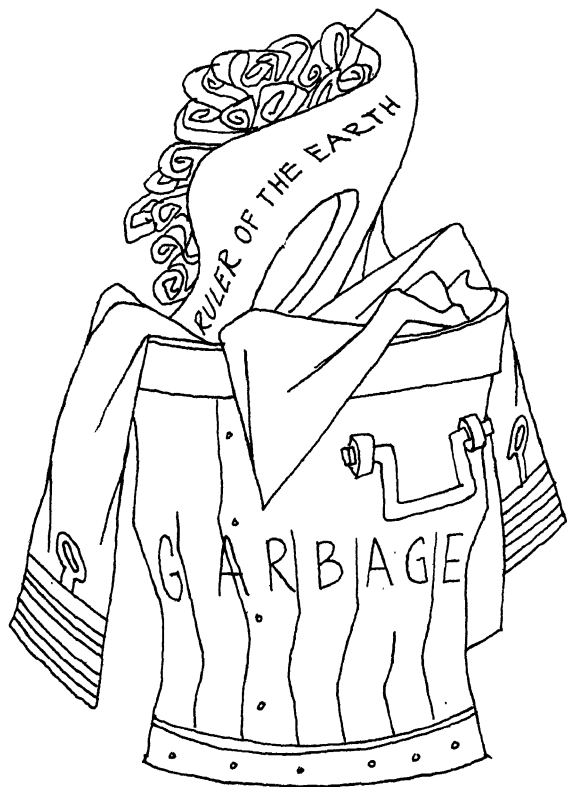
Giving power to UP is the way of reason. As such it comes up against the other way of doing things which all through history has made reason take second place—the way of force. To more than one nation the voice of the future has seemed to say, “For the good of all you will have to take over the government of all—by force.”

More than one nation is waiting to become Ruler of the Earth when its hour comes round.



Till then playing with the UN is a good way for these nations to keep their chances open.

But to make a UP and give it power seriously would be quite another thing.

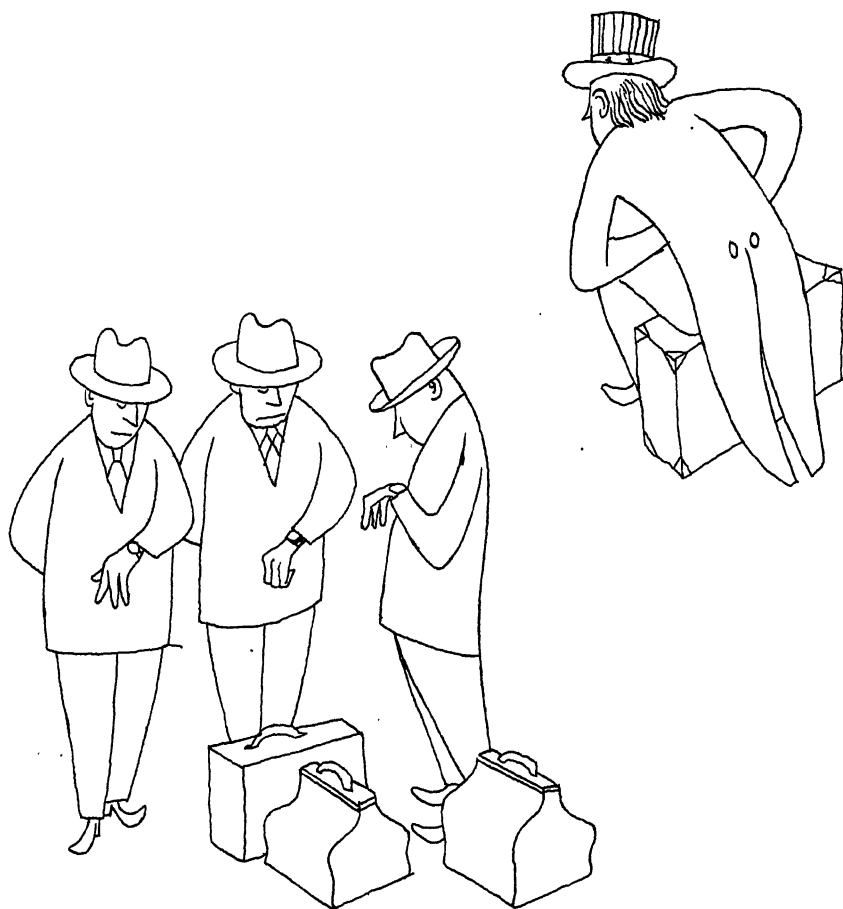


It would be the end of any such designs.

Is the United States today one of these nations? Has it these designs? The people as a mass would say NO. But there are voices here and there in the United States which give other nations cause for fear.

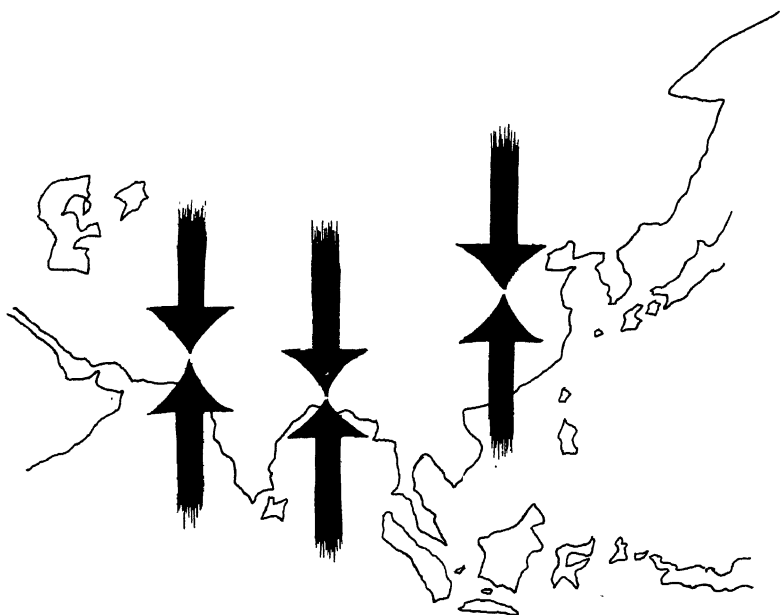


The United States has today so much power that it is responsible for guiding all the peoples on earth to World Government. Other nations are waiting.



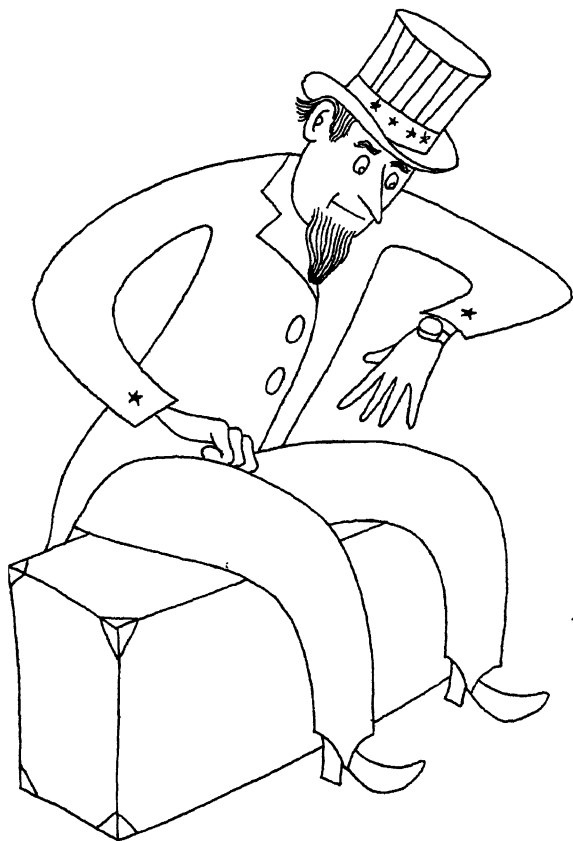
Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, France . . .
would be ready to go with the United States in taking the
GREAT STEP.

China and India and the other peoples of the East—between them about half the people on earth—are for World Government over free peoples. The Congress Party in India has come out for “a world Federation of all free nations.” So has China’s Foreign Secretary.



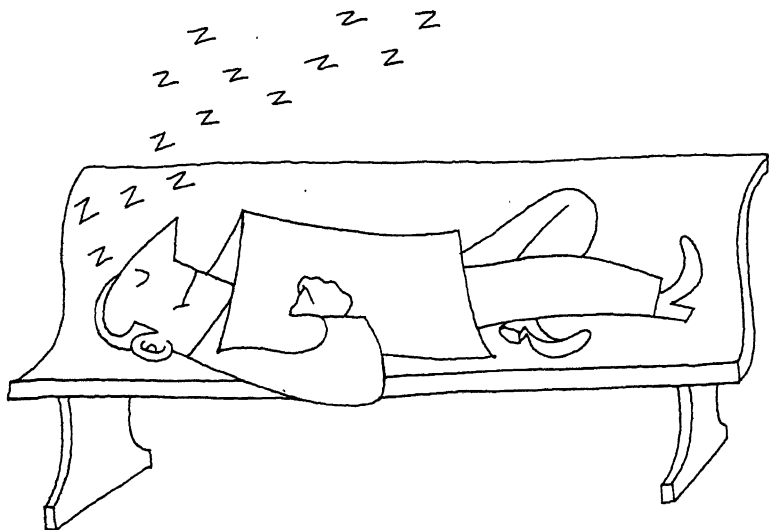
These peoples are in great danger of wars among themselves.
A World Government is their way out.

All these nations are waiting for the government of the United States to say the word and make the offer of power to a World Government.



What is the government of the United States waiting for?

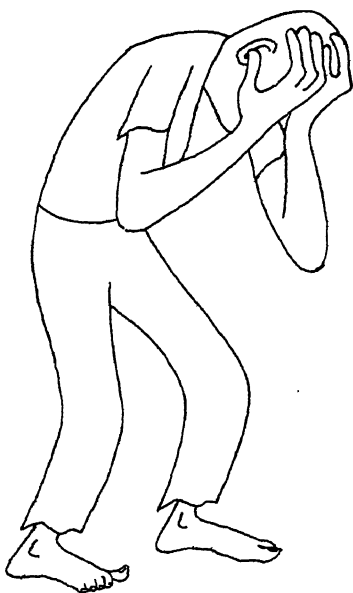
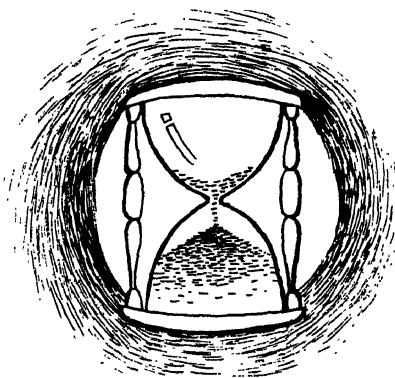
It is waiting for the people of the United States. It is waiting for YOU. What are YOU waiting for?



WHO? ME?

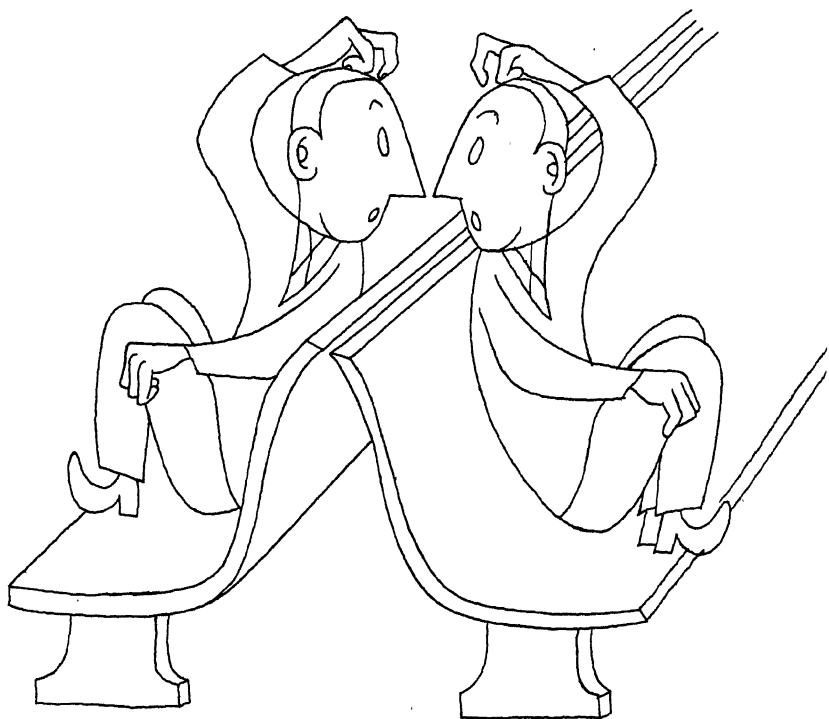


Are you waiting for more knowledge? Of what? Of what a new war will be like? It will be worse than our minds can take in.



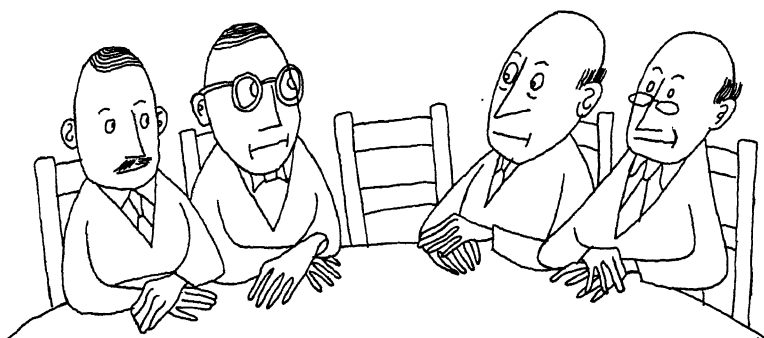
Are you waiting for the danger to become greater? It is becoming greater every day. With every month we are nearer the hour of decision. There is still time, but *it is later than you know.*

Are you waiting to be more certain that World Government is the only way out? What will make you more certain? Other men's beliefs? Other men are waiting for you to believe.



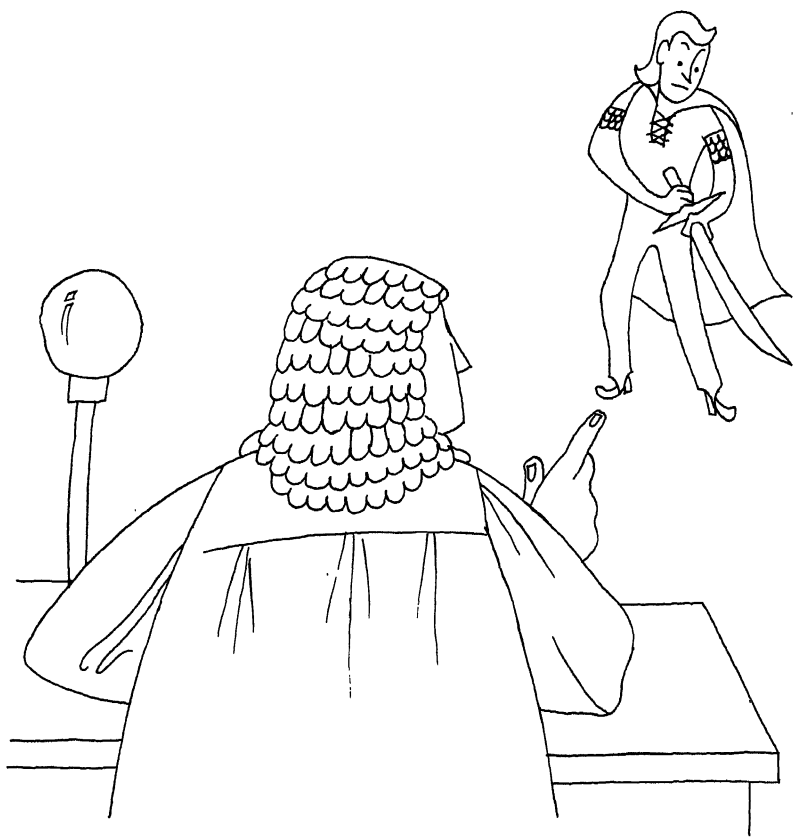
"After you." "After you!"

Are you waiting to be certain that all the great nations would come in? Is that why you are waiting? If one would not, what then?



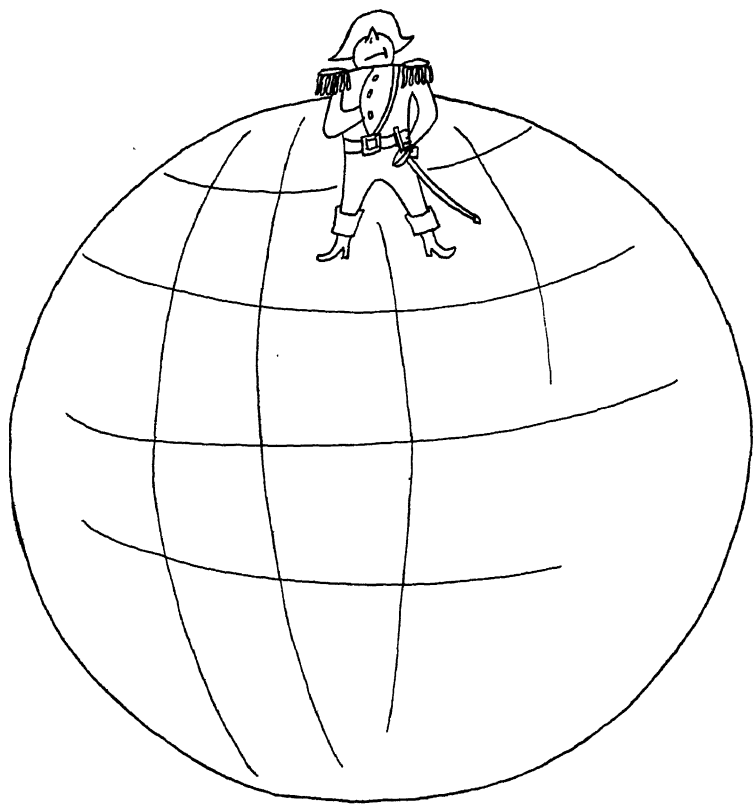
Why would any nation not come in? There might be two chief reasons: One might be a *FEAR* that coming under the World Government would put an end to its own special government system.

But the World Government would say to this nation: "If you come in you may keep as they are all your current ways **BUT ONE**, keep all the rights of a nation **BUT ONE**. For the rest, take your own line; keep your sovereignty.

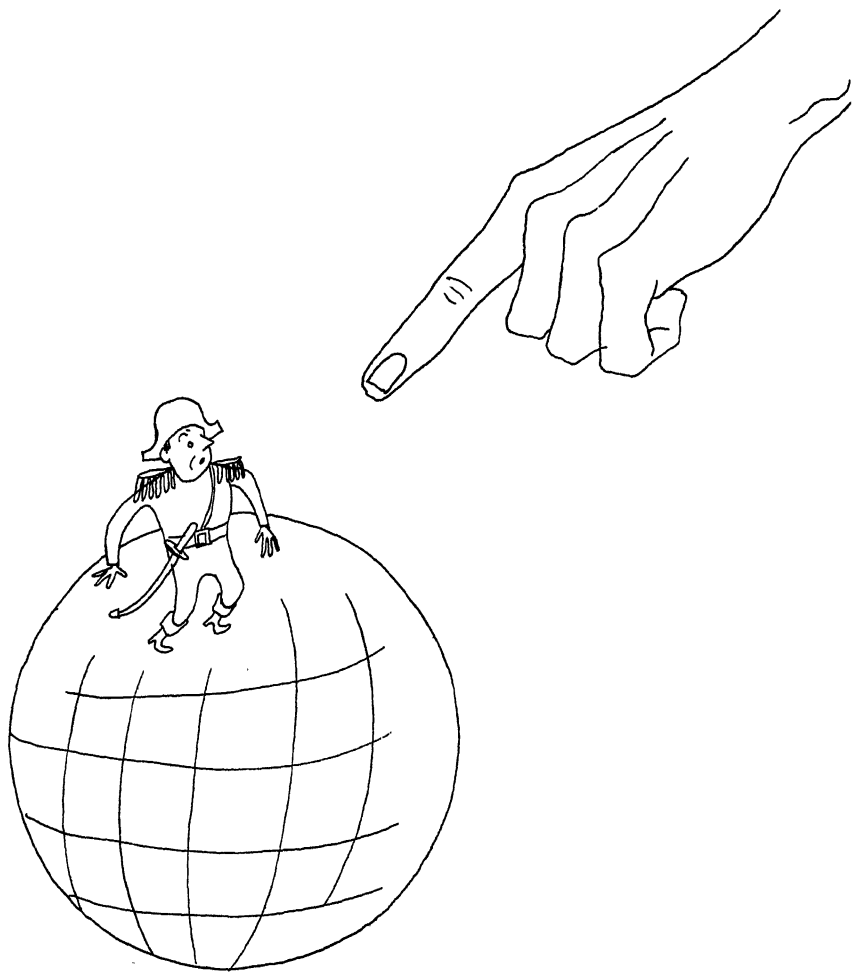


"The **ONE** condition is: No arming, no making ready for war. We, the World Government, have to see for ourselves, as we do with all other nations, that there is none of that. The one right you have to give up is the right of private war."

Why would this nation not come in? The other reason might be its hope and desire to become the World Government itself.

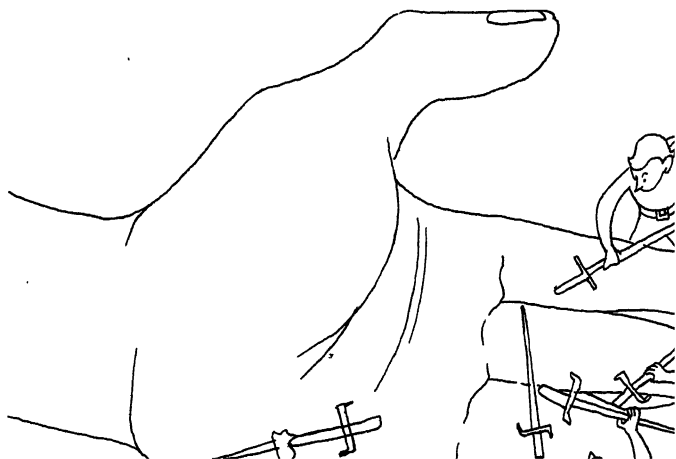


If so, if THAT is the reason, we see where we are.



The only answer to such hopes and desires is greater power saying: "Who are you that all men are to be under YOU? If you will not freely be joined with all other men, rulers one of another and of themselves, then you will have to be made by force to take your place with the rest of us. There is no room for two world governments on the earth."

No force would be used before it was clear that this nation was making ready to use force against the World Government. And THEN it would not be another nation, or a group of nations, but the GOVERNMENT OF MAN ON EARTH which acted—the government of 2,000,000,000 men keeping some millions of others from damaging them.

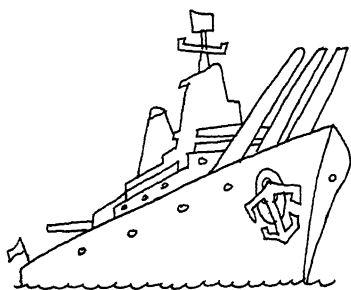


There is nothing to give up but the right (and power) to make private war. Nothing more. That is all the surrender of sovereignty IS.

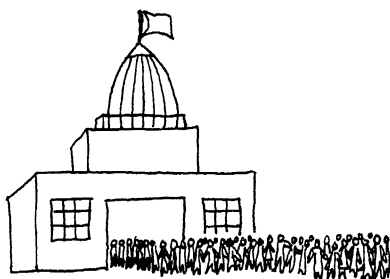
All our other rights and powers will be the same. Who is less a Vermonter or a Californian because he is a citizen of the US? No one will be less an American or a Russian because he is a citizen of the UP.

In this there would be no banding together of other nations against one. Nothing would be taken away from this nation which was not equally taken away from every other nation. Nothing would be given up which every other nation did not equally give up.

Under a World Government with enough power to keep us all safe from one another what do we get in addition to all that we have? All that today goes into war and training for war. All the lives given for separate defense—all the millions of man-years wasted every year on *that*. All the money and materials and time wasted now on making arms. All the brain power now turned to designing destruction.



COST OF ONE
BATTLESHIP



ONE YEARS
SCHOOLING FOR
ONE MILLION
PEOPLE

All this will be made free. It will be OURS—helping us to make the new World Government work; helping us to become responsible one for another as we are parts of one another; helping us in the government of all by all for the good of all; helping us to see that men and groups, great or small, get their rights under equal Laws—no less and no more—everywhere on this earth which is MAN'S; helping us to become, at last and in time, what MAN must be.



All this might be OURS. But all this is waiting now, O Americans, for YOU to act. What are YOU doing? What are YOU waiting for?

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

I. A. RICHARDS was born and educated in England but has been living in America and teaching at Harvard University since 1939. Mr. Richards has done a great deal of work in semantics and is one of the authorities on *Basic English*. He is the author of the following books: *Interpretation in Teaching*; *Basic English and Its Uses*; *How to Read a Page*; with Charles K. Ogden, *The Meaning of Meaning*; and with Christine Gibson, *Words on Paper*.

As to why he wrote *Nations and Peace*, Mr. Richards says: "I wrote this book for two main reasons: the first is our desperate need to think more clearly about what we are doing. The second has to do with language. We can no longer afford unnecessary misunderstanding. A common second language—easy for all and clear to everybody—has become an obvious part of the campaign against disaster. I wanted to try out an extremely simple form of English on the greatest and most complex current questions. We discourse on them so much in somniferous verbiage that perhaps some simple statements may wake us up to where we are."

